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INTRODUCTION
TO
THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

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INTRODUCTION

TO

THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

BY
PATON J. GLOAG, D.D.

AUTHOR OF
A COMMENTARY ON THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PAULINE EPISTLES
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE JOHANNINE WRITINGS
ETC. ETC.



EDINBURGH
T. & T. CLARK, 38 GEORGE STREET
1895

THIS WORK
IS DEDICATED TO
MY WIFE,
WHO HAS UNWEARIEDLY ASSISTED ME
IN THIS AND IN ALL MY OTHER LITERARY LABOURS

PREFACE



THIS *Introduction to the Synoptic Gospels* completes a series of Introductions to the books of the New Testament, in the preparation of which I have been engaged for a quarter of a century. The *Introduction to the Acts of the Apostles*, with a commentary, was published in 1870; the *Introduction to the Thirteen Pauline Epistles*, along with the anonymous *Epistle to the Hebrews*, in 1874; the *Introduction to the Seven Catholic Epistles* in 1887; the *Introduction to the Johannine Writings*, especially the *Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse*, in 1891; and now the *Introduction to the Synoptic Gospels* in 1895. The design of these Introductions was not to give any explanation of or commentary on the sacred text (that to the Acts of the Apostles forming an exception), but to examine the genuineness of the writings, their authorship, the readers to whom they were primarily addressed, their design, their sources,—especially the sources of the historical books,—the language in which they were written, their peculiar style and diction, their characteristic features, the integrity of the text, the time when and the place where they were written, and their contents, in short, all that is necessary for their full understanding and intelligent perusal.

Several controversial points have been discussed in all these Introductions; but none of them has presented so many difficulties and perplexities as this *Introduction to the Synoptic Gospels*. Critical controversy and inquiry have, in recent years, in a great measure passed from the investigation of the Pauline Epistles, to which they were directed by the

ingenious investigations of Baur and the Tübingen school concerning Petrine and Pauline Christianity, and from the important question concerning the authorship of the Fourth Gospel, which recent discoveries of patristic documents and a more rigid examination of the writings of the Fathers have in a great measure settled, to the great problems connected with the origin and sources of the Synoptic Gospels. I do not allude to the mythical theory promulgated by Strauss, which, at least in its original form, may now be regarded as antiquated, but to the question whence the Synoptists derived their information, and to the causes of the remarkable coincidences and equally remarkable differences which are found in their writings. This so-called "Synoptic problem" is one of the great disputed questions in the biblical criticism of the present day. In this Introduction I have discussed it at considerable length, first giving the most important theories that have been advanced, and then stating what I consider the most probable approaches to the truth. I am very far from supposing that I have arrived at any satisfactory conclusion, and am perfectly aware of the objections to which the theory advanced is exposed, and to which I can only give an imperfect answer: all that I have been able to do is to state what appear to me to be the most probable results of the inquiry. The complete solution of the problem is, I fear, for the present unattainable.

Another question, about which it is still impossible to pronounce an opinion with confidence, has regard to the original language of the Gospel of Matthew. Here the external and internal evidences conflict. Dean Alford observes: "I find myself constrained to abandon the view maintained in my first edition, and to adopt that of a Greek original." My experience has been precisely the reverse. At first, giving weight to the internal evidence, I considered that this Gospel was originally written in Greek, and could not have been a translation; but, owing to the overwhelming weight of the external evidence, as seen in the unanimous and unopposed testimony of the Fathers, I have been led to change that opinion, and now consider the hypothesis of a Hebrew or Aramaic original as upon the whole the more probable: unless,

indeed, the hypothesis be adopted that there were two originals written by Matthew, the one in Hebrew and the other in Greek.

With regard to two other points of much difficulty, I have come to the conclusion, in opposition, it must be confessed, to some of our greatest biblical scholars, that the last verses of Mark's Gospel (xvi. 9–20) are genuine and formed an original portion of that Gospel; and that the variations in our Lord's genealogies, as given in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, can only be accounted for on the supposition that Matthew gives the genealogy of Joseph and Luke that of Mary.

It is, I trust, wholly unnecessary to say that in this work I have endeavoured to exercise strict impartiality. I have practised that candour which I have so strongly recommended as an indispensable qualification in all interpreters of Scripture. I am not conscious of having given undue preference to any preconceived opinions or traditional views. On the contrary, I have been led in the course of my investigations to modify and alter several of my former views, although, I confess, with some reluctance, and only after careful and repeated examination. A notable instance of this may be seen in the view maintained in this Introduction of the origin of the "Sermon on the Mount." Certainly the opinion, that this was one connected discourse delivered at one time, is that which a perusal of it in the Gospel of Matthew most naturally suggests; but I have been led to think that whilst a large portion of it was delivered on a single occasion, yet other sayings of our Lord, given at different times and on different occasions, were added by the Evangelist, as is suggested by the fact that the same statements are found in different portions of the Gospel of Luke, and there mentioned in their historical connection.

This Introduction may be regarded by different classes of readers from different points of view. Some may look upon it as too conservative, and as not making proper allowance for those advanced critical views which are now so prevalent; while others may regard it as too rationalistic, yielding too much to the views of those who are considered by many as deniers of inspiration. All that I can say is that I have endeavoured to be honest to my own convictions.

In recent years great progress has been made in the text and criticism of the New Testament, and new light has in consequence been cast on many controverted problems. Manuscripts and versions have been carefully collated, and the various readings compared. We have now a more certain text: the additions to the original, inserted in the *textus receptus*, are now removed, and omissions are now supplied. The result is that we have now obtained a text almost approaching to a restoration of the original. Of course, the readings of the oldest and uncial manuscripts still occupy the first place, but more attention has recently been paid to the cursive manuscripts and to the readings of the versions, especially the Old Italic and Syriac, which have perhaps hitherto been too much undervalued, seeing that they were made from Greek manuscripts much older than any which we now possess. A more accurate scholarship is now applied to the elucidation of Scripture; and the peculiar character of the dialect of New Testament Greek is now better understood. In the Revised Version, whatever may be its defects, we have undoubtedly a much better translation than in the Authorised Version.

Within the last half century there have been several discoveries of remarkable manuscripts, which have had an important bearing upon various questions connected with biblical criticism, especially upon the genuineness and age of the different scriptural books. The *Philosophoumena*, or Refutation of all Heresies, by Hippolytus, in which the references of the early Gnostics to the books of the New Testament are quoted, was discovered at Mount Athos in 1841, and printed by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, in 1851. A complete manuscript of the Clementine Homilies was found in the Vatican by Dressel in 1837, and published at Göttingen in 1853. In 1858, Canon Cureton published a Syriac manuscript containing fragments of the Gospels, found by Archdeacon Tattam in a Syriac monastery in the Nitizian desert in Egypt, and which is now regarded by many as the oldest Syriac version. This version was last year nearly completed by the important discovery of the Sinaitic Syriac manuscript by Mrs. Lewis, if the supposition be

correct that it is a variant copy of the Curetonian. The important Sinaitic manuscript, being, next to the Vatican, the oldest in existence, and materially affecting the reading of the received text, discovered by Tischendorf in the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai in 1859, was published in 1862. A complete copy of the Epistle of Barnabas, hitherto imperfect, was attached to the Sinaitic manuscript, and another copy was among the documents discovered by Bryennios. But, next to the Codex Sinaiticus, the most important of all these discoveries is the Diatessaron of Tatian. A translation in the Armenian language of Ephræm's commentary on that work was found in the Armenian convent at Venice, and was printed in that city in 1836; a Latin translation was published in 1876, from which it was proved beyond the possibility of doubt that Tatian's Harmony was made up of the four canonical Gospels; and only a few years ago another manuscript was found by Professor Ciasca in the Vatican Library containing an Arabic translation of the whole work. Another very important document, the "Didachè," or the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," was discovered by Philotheos Bryennios, Metropolitan of Nicomedia, in the Jerusalem convent in Constantinople, and published in 1883, which is considered by competent authorities to have been written about the close of the first century and to be the oldest post-apostolic document extant, except the Epistle of Clemens Romanus, and possibly the so-called Epistle of Barnabas. Bound in the same volume with the Didachè was the only complete manuscript of the famous Epistle of Clemens Romanus, the copy in the Codex Alexandrinus being defective at the close. In 1889, J. Rendel Harris of Cambridge discovered in the monastery of Mount Sinai the Apology of Aristides to the Emperor Hadrian. A very important fragment of the apocryphal Gospel of Peter, found in a tomb at Akhman, in Upper Egypt, by the French Archaeological Mission at Cairo in 1886, was published in 1892. And only last year the discovery of an important Syriac version of the four Gospels was made by Mrs. Lewis in that Sinaitic monastery which has yielded so many important biblical manuscripts. These documents have been

discovered in different quarters—the Sinaitic manuscript and the new Sinaitic Syrian version in the monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai; Ephraim's commentary on the Diatessaron in the Armenian convent at Venice; the Arabic version of Tatian, partly in Egypt and partly in Rome; the Philosophoumena of Hippolytus in Mount Athos; the Didachè, and the complete copy of the Epistle of Clemens Romanus, in Constantinople; and the fragment of the Gospel of Peter in Egypt. The Vatican Library has also yielded many important treasures.

These recent discoveries of biblical documents fill us with the hope of still more important discoveries in the future, when the libraries of the monasteries shall have been more carefully examined by competent scholars. The discovery of the writings of Papias, of the Gospel of the Hebrews, and of the Gospel of Marcion would be an enormous gain to biblical criticism, and might elucidate many unsolved problems; and who, viewing the past discoveries so unexpectedly made, can affirm that such discoveries may not be within the bounds of probability? At the same time, we do not believe that such discoveries will materially affect the main conclusions already arrived at, but rather that they will elucidate questions which still remain unsolved or doubtful.

The present work forms a companion volume to the other Introductions formerly published, and completes the series of Introductions to the New Testament. The scriptural quotations are taken from the Revised Version, except on those rare occasions when the Authorised Version or an independent translation appears preferable. The patristic quotations are taken from Kirchhofer's *Quellensammlung zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Canons*. Appendices are attached, referring to certain special difficulties and disputed points which seem to require special discussion.

A list of the most important books read or consulted is appended at the end of this work, with references to the editions in my possession, so that the quotations made from them may be referred to and verified. A vast amount of literature has been collected around the Synoptic problem, and the most important works on the subject have been care-

fully read whenever they could be obtained. It would, of course, be an endless task to refer to periodical literature on the subject, but I may mention several important articles which appeared in the *Expositor* for 1891. As in almost all theological discussions, we must betake ourselves to the great German theologians, whose works on the Synoptic problem have been carefully studied. Of these, I would especially mention the works of Holtzmann, Weiss, Wendt, and Paul Ewald. Of English theologians, the researches of Professor Sanday of Oxford on the Synoptic question call for special notice. They are distinguished alike by patience, caution, and logical acumen, and in point of learning and exhaustive investigation are unsurpassed by the above German theologians. It would not be right to omit special reference to the Introductions of the venerable Dr. Samuel Davidson, however much we may dissent from his conclusions. His two Introductions,—that entitled *Introduction to the New Testament*, published in 1848, and that entitled *Introduction to the Study of the New Testament*, published in 1868, the third edition of which appeared last year (1894), when the author was in his eighty-eighth year,—though written from different standpoints, are most valuable, and exhibit a learning and research seldom equalled by any biblical critic in our country. I have found several commentaries very helpful, especially those of Meyer, Godet, and the late Dr. Morison, whose commentaries on Matthew and Mark are deserving of careful study. Several monographs on particular subjects have also to be mentioned, from which I have derived considerable assistance, as that of Dean Burgon on *The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark*, Bishop Hervey on the *Genealogies of our Lord*, Resch's *Agrapha*, and Zumpt's *Das Geburtsjahr Christi*. The value of Rushbrooke's *Synopticon* is acknowledged in the body of the work.

Last year (1894) I wrote six articles in the *Thinker* on the Synoptic problem. These, with the kind permission of the editor, the Rev. Joseph Exell, I have freely used in writing this work: they have, however, been rewritten and much altered both by additions and omissions.

It is my pleasing duty to acknowledge my obligations to

several friends who have kindly assisted me in this work—to the Rev. William Hastie, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, and to my brother, Lord Kincairney, for perusing the manuscript before the work went to press, and for valuable hints and suggestions; and to the Rev. David Hunter, D.D., of Galashiels, and the Rev. John Patrick, D.D., of Greenside, Edinburgh, for the verification of my references, and assistance in the correction of the press.

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ERRATA.

- Page 1, l. 12, *for* 1862 *read* 1802.
 „ 6, l. 24, *for* Synoptists *read* Synoptics.
 „ 15, l. 15, *for*uncanonised *read*uncanonical.
 „ 46, last line, *for* Mark *read* Matthew.
 „ 51, l. 4, *for* beforehand *read* before him.
 „ 53, l. 20, *for* consistencies *read* coincidences.
 „ 55, l. 17, *for* Gospel *read* Gospels.
 „ 72, l. 17, *for* collected *read* collated.
 „ 280, last line, *omit* (Dionysian era, B.C. 14).

THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS.



GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

LITERATURE.—The Literature on the Synoptic Gospels, taken conjointly, is very extensive, as the subject has of late attracted much attention in this country, in Germany, and in America.

The Genuineness of the Synoptic Gospels is treated in the special sections in the Introductions to the New Testament. The most important of these by German critics are those of Bleek (translated 1869; the last German edition much altered by Mangold, 1886), Credner, De Wette, Eichhorn, Guericke, Hilgenfeld, Holtzmann, Hug (translated 1827), Michaelis (translated by Bishop Marsh, with valuable notes and dissertations, 1802), Reuss (translated 1884), Weiss (translated 1887). Of works by English critics may be mentioned Alford's *Prolegomena* to his *Greek Testament*; the two very different Introductions of Dr. Samuel Davidson, the one entitled *Introduction to the New Testament* (1848), and the other *Introduction to the Study of the New Testament* (1868; third edition 1894); Dod's *Introduction to the New Testament*, 1888; Horne's *Introduction to the Scriptures*, with additions by Davidson and Tregelles, 1874; McClymont's *The New Testament and its Writers*, London, 1893; and Salmon's *Introduction to the New Testament*, 1885. To these have to be added Professor Sanday's *Gospels of the Second Century*, 1876; Westcott's *Canon of the New Testament*, 1860; and Andrews Norton's (of Harvard University) *Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels*, 1847. Jones *On the Canon*, Lardner's

Credibility, Kirchhofer's *Quellensammlung*, and Charteris' *Canonicity*, contain the references to the Synoptic Gospels in the writings of the early Fathers. The special references in the works of Justin Martyr are discussed at considerable length by Purves in his *Testimony of Justin Martyr to early Christianity* (New York, 1888), and Sadler in his *Lost Gospel* (London, 1876). Tischendorf's tractate, *Wann wurden unsere Evangelien verfasst?* (4th ed. 1866; translated 1867) has never been refuted.

The important question as to the origin of the Synoptic Gospels has been much discussed during the latter half of this century, and at no period more so than in the present day. The following are the most important works on this subject, given alphabetically: the article on the Gospels by Dr. Abbott in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; Baur's *Marcus-evangelium*, 1881; Badham on the *Formation of the Gospels*, London, 1892; Bleek's *Synoptische Erklärung der drei ersten Evangelien* (Leipzig, 1862); Eichhorn's theory is contained in his *Einleitung in das N.T.*, and the remarks on it by Bishop Marsh in his translation of Michaelis' *Introduction*; Paul Ewald's *Hauptproblem der Evangelienfrage* (Leipzig, 1890); Ewald's *Die drei ersten Evangelien*, 1871; Gieseler's *Historisch-kritischer Versuch über die Entstehung und die frühesten Schicksale der schriftlichen Evangelien* (Leipzig, 1818); Godet, "The Origin of the Four Gospels," in his *Studies in the N.T.* 1873; Holtzmann's *Die synoptischen Evangelien*, 1863; Hilgenfeld, *Die Evangelien nach ihrer Entstehung und geschichtlichen Bedeutung*, 1854; Jolley, *The Synoptic Problem for English Readers* (London, 1893); Keim's *Jesus of Nazara* (translated 1876-1883); Morison's *Commentary on St. Mark's Gospel* (3rd ed. London, 1882); Norton's *Genuineness of the Gospels*, already adverted to; Resch, *Agrapha: ausserkanonische Evangelienfragmente*, 1893; Roberts, *Language of Christ and His Apostles*, 1888; Sabatier's *Sources de la Vie de Jesus*, Paris, 1866; Schenkel's *Das Charakterbild Jesu* (1864; translated 1869); Schleiermacher's *St. Luke*, especially the introduction to it by the translator, Bishop Thirlwall (London, 1828); Scholten's *Das älteste Evangelium*, 1869; Smith's *Dissertation on the Gospels*, Edinburgh,

1853; the Introduction to the Gospels in the *Speaker's Commentary*, by Archbishop Thomson, and his article on the Gospels in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* (in the new edition there is a valuable supplement to that article by Professor Sanday); Volkmar's *Marcus und die Synopse der Evangelien*, 1876; Weiss, *Das Marcus Evangelium und seine Synoptische Parallelen*, 1872; Wendt, *Evangel. Quellenberichte über die Lehre Jesu*, 1886; Weizsäcker, *Untersuchungen über die evangelische Geschichte*, 1864, and his *Apostolisches Zeitalter*, 1890, now translated 1894; Wright's *Composition of the Four Gospels*, London, 1890. Besides these, there are many important articles on the origin of the Synoptic Gospels by Dr. Sanday, Professor Marshall, and others in the *Expositor*, fourth series, vol. iii. The subject is also discussed by Dr. Schaff in his *History of the Christian Church* (vol. i. pp. 575–612). To these also is to be added Rushbrooke's *Synopticon; or an Exposition of the common matter in the Synoptic Gospels*, where the matter common to the three Gospels and the matter common to two of them are so distinctly indicated by different types and colours as to be recognised at a glance. Other important works will be mentioned in the course of this Introduction.

A list of the chief Harmonies of the Gospel will be given when the Harmony of the Synoptics is discussed.

I. THE TITLE: SYNOPTIC GOSPELS.

The word *Gospel* is a translation of the Greek *εὐαγγέλιον*. It probably came into use through Wicklif's translation. It is a contraction for Godspel, *God's word*, or more probably for Goodspel, *good news* (from *spellian*, to tell). The English version is the only European one in which the Greek word is translated; in other modern languages it is reproduced after the modified form of the Latin *evangelium*, as in German *Evangelium*, in French *evangile*, in Italian *evangelo*, etc. *Εὐαγγέλιον*, as used in the New Testament, is correctly rendered *good news*, and primarily denotes a good message; hence the glad tidings of salvation announced to the world in connection with Jesus Christ. Thus the angel on the plain

of Bethlehem proclaimed: "Behold, I bring you good tidings (εὐαγγελίζομαι) of great joy" (Luke ii. 10). Hence the usual phrase, "the Gospel of Jesus Christ"; because Christ was the subject of these good news. Taken in a general sense, the word came to denote the whole revelation of salvation by Christ. Thus Paul speaks of "my gospel" (2 Tim. ii. 8), that is, the system of salvation which he preached. It was only at a later period that the term came to be applied to a written record, and especially to denote the record of the sayings and doings of Christ, as in its application to the four historical Lives of Christ which form our canonical Gospels. We have a trace of this application in the introductory words to St. Mark's Gospel: "The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ" (ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Mark i. 1), where perhaps the evangelist entitles his work a Gospel. In the writings of Justin Martyr we have the first undoubted use of the term in this sense: "For the apostles," he observes, "in the memoirs composed by them which we call Gospels, have thus declared."¹

The superscriptions to the Gospels in the manuscripts of the Greek Testament are: εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον, κατὰ Μάρκον, κατὰ Λουκᾶν, κατὰ Ἰωάννην.² We cannot tell when these titles were affixed to our Gospels; but as these titles are all similar, it is probable that it was not until they were collected together in a volume. The force of the preposition κατὰ has been variously explained. It may denote that the traditions collected by Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, *i.e.* their oral teaching, were committed to writing or edited by others, so that, according to this view, these evangelists were only the indirect authors of their Gospels. It is thus understood by Credner³ and others. But the general testimony of the Fathers is opposed to this meaning of the preposition; for

¹ *Apol.* i. 66: οἱ γὰρ ἀπόστολοι ἐν τοῖς γενημένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπομνημονεύμασιν ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια οὕτως παρέδωκαν. Earlier instances of the use of the term are found in the *Didaché*, and in the Epistle of Ignatius to the Philadelphians, v.

² The important codices **Σ** and **B** have simply κατὰ Ματθαῖον, etc.

³ *Einführung*, § 89, note. De Wette observes: "The titles κατὰ Ματθαῖον, etc., do not definitely indicate these men as their authors; but the opinion of all antiquity attests the commonly accepted sense." *Einführung*, § 78.

the evangelists are always regarded as the direct authors of their Gospels. The oneness of the Gospels is implied by the use of the preposition instead of the genitive.¹ There are not, strictly speaking, four Gospels, but one given in four different forms; the Gospel not *of*, but *according to* Matthew, the Gospel *according to* Mark, etc.

The term *synoptic* is a recent critical designation. As the adjective from Synopsis (which is compounded of *σύν* and *ὄψις*, parallel to the Latin *conspectus*), it denotes that in these Gospels we have a narrative of the life of Christ which may be arranged into sections, so as to afford us a general view or conspectus of His sayings and doings. The term is used to distinguish the first three Gospels from the fourth, which is more concerned with the discourses than with the actions of Christ. It is comparatively modern,² and does not occur in the writings of the Fathers.

The specific difference between the Synoptic Gospels and the Fourth Gospel is obvious. It is not necessary to enter upon it here in detail, as it has already been fully discussed in a former Introduction.³ We would only notice four points of difference. 1. They differ in regard to the *locality* of the events narrated. In the Synoptics the scene of our Lord's ministry is chiefly laid in Galilee. Until the period of His last sufferings there is little mention of Judæa, and we would hardly have known that He frequently visited that country.⁴ On the other hand, in John's Gospel the scene is chiefly laid in Judæa. The visits of Christ to Jerusalem at the great annual feasts, His conversation with the Jews on these occasions, and the miracles which He then performed, form the chief contents of that Gospel; whilst His ministry in Galilee is seldom, and only incidentally, alluded to.⁵ 2. They appar-

¹ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τετράμορφον, Irenæus.

² According to Archdeacon Farrar, it was brought into general use by Griesbach. See also Holtzmann's *Einleitung*, p. 370.

³ Gloag's *Introduction to the Johannine Writings*, pp. 130-147.

⁴ Luke ix. 41 would seem to intimate a journey to Jerusalem in the middle of His ministry: it may, however, allude by anticipation to His last journey.

⁵ Allusions to a Galilean ministry in John's Gospel are found in John ii. 12, vi. 1, 4, 59, vii. 1.

ently differ as to the *duration* of Christ's ministry. In the Synoptics our Lord's ministry would seem to be comprised within the short space of one year. There is mention only of one visit to Jerusalem, at the Passover when He suffered; and nothing would lead us to suppose that three Passovers occurred during the course of His ministry. Whereas in John's Gospel three Passovers are recorded,¹ so that His ministry must have extended over two or three years. 3. They differ in the *events* narrated. There is little in common between the facts and discourses recorded in the Synoptics and those recorded in the Fourth Gospel. Excluding the narrative of our Lord's last visit to Jerusalem when He suffered, and the narrative of His resurrection, there are only three incidents which John relates in common with the other evangelists—the miraculous feeding of the multitude, the walking on the Sea of Galilee, and the anointing by Mary the sister of Lazarus. The miraculous birth of Christ, His baptism and temptation, the transfiguration, the institution of the Supper, the agony of Gethsemane, narrated by the Synoptists, are omitted in John's Gospel; whilst the cure of the man who was born blind, the healing of the impotent man at the pool of Bethesda, and the resurrection of Lazarus, mentioned by John, are omitted by the Synoptists. 4. They differ in the *character of the teaching or discourses of Jesus*. In the Synoptists the discourses of our Lord are chiefly given in parables: His teaching is brought down to the comprehension of the multitude. On the other hand, in the Fourth Gospel this mode of instruction is entirely wanting, except where there is an approach to it in the allegories of the Good Shepherd and of the Vine and its branches: the discourses are for the most part of a subjective and mystical character, relating to the deep things of God. These differences have been variously accounted for, and reasons have been assigned for them; but still they notably exist, and are sufficient to justify the distinction which has been made between the Fourth Gospel and the other three.

The Fathers have always recognised only four Gospels, namely, the three Synoptics, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, and the Fourth Gospel, that of John. Thus Irenæus, in a well-

¹ John ii. 13, vi. 3, 4, xii. 1.

known passage, observes: "Since there are four regions of the world in which we live, and four principal winds, and since the Church is spread over all the world, and the gospel is the pillar and ground of the Church, it is fitting that it should have four pillars breathing out immortality and imparting life to men. From which it is evident the Word, the Creator of all men, and who sitteth above the cherubim, and is the Sustainer of all, has given us the gospel under four aspects, but bound together by one Spirit."¹ We have nothing to do with the fanciful illustrations of Irenæus, but only with the fact which he attests, that there are four Gospels, neither more nor less. These Gospels he afterwards declares to be those of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. No other Gospel was admitted among the sacred books of the early Christians: neither in the writings of the Fathers, nor in the manuscripts of the New Testament, is any other Gospel mentioned as having received the authority and sanction of the Church. Thus Clemens Alexandrinus, when referring to a passage taken from an apocryphal Gospel, says: "We do not find this statement in the four Gospels that have been handed down to us, but in that according to the Egyptians."²

But although there were only four Gospels received as of any authority by the Church at the close of the second century, namely, those which we now possess, yet numbers of non-canonical Gospels were written and disseminated chiefly in the second century.³ Most of them are of no importance, and are full of the most trivial and extravagant incidents. Three may be mentioned which for certain reasons have attained notoriety, but which, although frequently referred to by the Fathers, were never regarded as of any authority. The Gospel to the Hebrews (*Εὐαγγέλιον καθ' Ἑβραίων*) was used by the Ebionites, Nazarenes, and other Jewish-

¹ Irenæus, *Adv. Hæc.* iii. 11. 8; Charteris' *Canonicity*, pp. 68, 69. Dr. Taylor supposes that this statement of Irenæus about the fourfold Gospel was anticipated by Hermas, A.D. 143.

² Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.* iii. 13.

³ For a succinct account of the non-canonical Gospels, see Guericke, *Isagogik*, pp. 225 ff.; De Wette, *Einleitung*, §§ 63-74; translation, pp. 87-124; and Baring-Gould, *Lost and Hostile Gospels*.

Christian sects. It appears to have been closely related to the Gospel of Matthew, and will occupy our attention when we come to the special consideration of that Gospel. The Gospel of Marcion, an anti-Judaistic-Gnostic Gospel, constructed by Marcion for the propagation of his opinions, was the subject of much controversy toward the close of the second century, and was fiercely attacked by Tertullian.¹ It was closely related to the Gospel of Luke, which was mutilated and corrupted by Marcion from dogmatic considerations.² It will also occupy our attention when we consider the third Gospel. The Gospel of Peter, which has recently obtained additional interest from the discovery of an important fragment, and which is especially valuable, as that fragment contains an account of the trial and death of Christ.

The four Gospels, whilst they contain an account of the life and teaching of Christ, record only a small portion of the events of our Lord's life. There must have been numerous other works done by Christ, and numerous other discourses delivered by Him, which are not recorded; we have at best only selected deeds and discourses narrated. St. John expressly asserts the fragmentary nature of his Gospel: "Many other signs therefore did Jesus in the presence of the disciples, which are not written in this book" (John xx. 30; comp. John xxi. 25). When we reflect on the fulness of such a life as that of Jesus, that He must have been ever actively engaged in His Father's business, and ever teaching the multitude in public and His disciples in private, we cannot but conclude that the accounts which we possess are of a most fragmentary nature. We have, for example, only a few incidents of the early life of Jesus before He attained to the age of thirty, when He entered upon His ministry. Luke only states one incident, His converse with the doctors in the temple (Luke ii. 41-51), when He was about twelve years of age. And after He commenced His public ministry, the Gospels themselves suggest the fragmentary nature of their accounts. By comparing the Fourth

¹ *Contra Marcion*.

² Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* i. 27. 2; Tertullian, *Contra Marcion*, iv. 2.

Gospel with the Synoptics we see what important events and discourses they have omitted.¹ In the accounts given us there is also a want of chronological order.² The Synoptists do not follow the same order in the events they record; so that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to form a harmony of their accounts.

II. THE AUTHORS OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS.

The authors of the Synoptic Gospels were Matthew, Mark, and Luke; one an apostle, the other two disciples of the apostles. The author of the Fourth Gospel was "the beloved disciple." They wrote for different readers, as we shall see when we examine the Gospels *seriatim*. It has been held that St. Matthew's is the Gospel for the Jews; St. Mark's is the Gospel for the Romans; St. Luke's is the Gospel for the Greeks; St. John's is the Gospel for the universal Church.

These Gospels have been symbolised in accordance with the description of the cherubim in the prophecy of Ezekiel, and of the living creatures in the Apocalypse. In Ezekiel the cherubim are described as having each four faces—the face of a man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle (Ezek. i. 10); whilst in the Apocalypse the living creatures are thus described: "The first creature was like a lion, the second like a calf, the third like a man, the fourth like a flying eagle" (Rev. iv. 7). These symbols were, at a very early period, taken to represent the Gospels, and have been enshrined in Christian art. Irenæus thus explains these evangelical symbols. The first living creature, the lion, the symbol of strength, dominion, and royal power, represents the Gospel of John, relating the glorious generation of Christ from the Father, as the Word by whom all things were made. The second living creature, the ox, the symbol of sacrifice and priesthood, represents the Gospel of Luke, commencing

¹ See Alford's *Greek Testament*, vol. i. Prolegomena, ch. i. § v.; Archbishop Thomson in *Speaker's Commentary N.T.* vol. i. p. vii f.; Westcott's *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, p. 20.

² See Eichhorn's *Einleitung in das N.T.* § 136

with Zechariah the priest offering up a sacrifice to God. The third living creature, the man, the symbol of humanity, represents the Gospel of Matthew, proclaiming the human birth of Christ, and commencing with His generation as a man. The fourth living creature, the flying eagle, pointing to the gift of the Spirit, hovering with His wings over the Church, represents the Gospel of Mark, testifying to the prophetic Spirit which comes from above by referring to the prophet Isaiah.¹ So that, according to Irenæus, the lion is the symbol of John, the ox of Luke, the man of Matthew, and the eagle of Mark. These symbols are given in a different order by other Fathers. According to Athanasius, the man denotes Matthew, the ox Mark, the lion Luke, and the eagle John. Augustine assigns the lion to Matthew, the man to Mark, the ox to Luke, and the eagle to John. The symbolism now generally adopted and found in paintings and sculptures is that given us by Jerome. "The first form, that of a man," he observes, "denotes Matthew, because he at once begins to write of the man. The form of the lion denotes Mark, the voice of the roaring lion in the wilderness being heard in his Gospel. The third, that of the ox, represents Luke, who begins with the priest Zechariah. The fourth form, that of the eagle, represents John, who soars above as on eagle's wings, and speaks of the divine Word."² These analogies are, no doubt, fanciful, and of no importance in themselves, still they bear upon the question as to the number of Gospels regarded as canonical and authentic.

III. GENUINENESS OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS.

The external and internal evidences accrediting each of these Gospels will be examined when we consider them separately. Here we take the Synoptic Gospels together as a whole. We shall commence with the period when they were universally acknowledged by the Church, and trace the proofs of their existence backwards as near to their source as possible. Irenæus (A.D. 180) thus mentions the four

¹ Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* iii. 11. 8 ; Kirchhofer's *Quellensammlung*, p. 40.

² Prologue to his *Comment. in Ev. Matthæi*.

Gospels: "Matthew issued a written Gospel among the Hebrews in their own dialect, while Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome, and laying the foundation of the Church. After their departure, Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, did also hand down to us in writing what had been preached by Peter. Luke also, the companion of Paul, recorded in a book the gospel preached by him. Afterwards John, the disciple of the Lord, who also had leaned upon His breast, did himself publish a Gospel during his residence at Ephesus in Asia."¹ And we have already mentioned his reference to those four Gospels in assigning to each of them the prophetic symbols. The testimony of Irenæus is very important, as he ministered both in the East in Proconsular Asia, and in the West in Gaul. He was also the disciple of Polycarp, and accordingly only one step removed from the apostles. His testimony is corroborated by his contemporaries, Clemens Alexandrinus and Tertullian. Clemens Alexandrinus (A.D. 190) repeatedly alludes to the four Gospels. He states that the Gospels containing the genealogies were written first; and that the Gospel of St. John came last, that apostle writing at the instigation of his friends a spiritual Gospel.² In a passage already quoted, he speaks of the four Gospels committed to us.³ Tertullian (A.D. 200) is equally explicit: "Of the apostles, John and Matthew instil faith into us, whilst of apostolic men Luke and Mark afterwards renew it."⁴

These testimonies are not only of importance as the testimonies of these early Fathers, but as being the testimonies of the Churches which they represented; so that in Asia Minor, in Gaul, in Egypt, and in Roman Africa, we have the assurance that toward the close of the second century the four Gospels which we possess were in circulation, and accepted by the whole Christian Church as authoritative histories of the life of Christ. In the forcible words

¹ Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* iii. 1. 1; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 8.

² Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 14.

³ Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.* iii. 13.

⁴ Tertullian, *Contra Marcion*, iv. 2: Nobis fidem ex apostolis Joannes et Matthæus insinuant, ex apostolicis Lucas et Marcus instaurant.

of Professor Norton: "About the end of the second century the Gospels were revered as sacred books by a community dispersed over the whole world, composed of men of different nations and languages. There were, to say the least, sixty thousand copies in existence.¹ They were read in the assemblies of Christians; they were continually quoted and appealed to, as of the highest authority; their reputation was as well established among believers from one end of the Roman Empire to the other as it is among Christians at the present day. The general reception of the Gospels as books of the highest authority at the end of the second century necessarily implies their celebrity at a much earlier period, and the long operation of causes sufficient to produce so remarkable a phenomenon."²

A remarkable fragment of the so-called Gospel of Peter has lately been brought to light. This Gospel, seldom alluded to by the Fathers, is adverted to by Eusebius.³ He mentions among the spurious writings ascribed to Peter, "the Gospel which bears his name."⁴ He also informs us that this Gospel is mentioned by Serapion, the bishop of Antioch (A.D. 190), as in use in the church of Rhossus in his diocese, and that it was rejected by him on account of the heretical doctrines which it contained. At first the bishop permitted it to be read, because, not having seen it, he was ignorant of its erroneous teaching; but this having been brought to his knowledge, he forbade its use: "Having obtained this Gospel from others who have studied it diligently, namely, from the successors of those who first used it, whom we call Docetæ, we have read it through, and find many things in accordance with the true doctrine of the

¹ Professor Norton bases this calculation on the fact that at the end of the second century there would be three millions of believers, anxious to obtain copies of the Gospels; and supposing one copy for every fifty Christians, this would give sixty thousand copies. The number is somewhat exaggerated, but it must have been very great. We have very little information as to the cost of books in ancient times.

² Norton, *The Genuineness of the Gospels*, vol. i. p. 123. See also pp. 31, 32.

³ Mentioned also by Origen, *Ad Matth.* xiii. 54.

⁴ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 3.

Saviour, but some things added to that doctrine which we have pointed out to you further on.”¹ In 1886 a fragment was discovered in a tomb near the town of Akhman, the Panopolis of Strabo, in Egypt, containing an account of the sufferings and resurrection of Christ, which has with extreme probability been supposed to be a part of this Gospel.² It completely agrees with the description given by Serapion, being in general accordance with the orthodox doctrine of Christ, but tinged with Docetism; as, for example, it states that when Christ hung upon the cross He was free from pain, and that He was deserted by the Power at the moment of His death.³ The latest date that can be assigned to it is A.D. 170, having been referred to by Serapion in A.D. 190; probably it belongs to the middle of the second century.⁴ Some imagine that it may possibly have been one of the documents referred to by Luke in his Gospel; but this is extremely improbable, as from the nature of its contents it is to be classed among the spurious Gospels. The fragment we possess is taken from our Gospels with several additions. The trial of Jesus is transferred from Pilate to Herod. There are references in it to all the Synoptic Gospels; as, for example, it is stated that Pilate washed his hands, which is mentioned only in Matthew’s Gospel; that our Lord was tried before Herod, to which Luke only alludes; and although no incident is recorded peculiar to Mark, yet this is accounted for by the similarity of this Gospel to the other two. In this fragment, then, we have a proof that the Synoptic Gospels were current in the Church before A.D. 170.⁵

¹ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 12. See also Jones *On the Canon*, vol. i. pp. 284–290.

² Along with this fragment of the Gospel of Peter were found portions of the Book of Enoch and the Apocalypse of Peter.

³ Instead of the evangelic words, “My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?” the Gospel of Peter has, “My power, my power, Thou hast left me,”—*ἡ δύναμις μου, ἡ δύναμις μου κατέλειψας με.*

⁴ Zahn fixes the date about A.D. 140 or 150; Sanday, hardly later than the end of the first quarter of the second century; Harnack, about A.D. 115. It has been supposed that Justin makes use of this Gospel. Sanday’s *Bampton Lectures*, p. 310.

⁵ See *The Akhman Fragment of the Apocryphal Gospel of St. Peter*, by Professor Swete, 1893; *The Gospel according to Peter*, two lectures by J.

The next testimony to which we advert is the Muratorian Canon. This celebrated and valuable fragment, mutilated both at the beginning and at the end, was discovered in the Ambrosian Library in Milan, and first published by Muratori in 1740. It professes to have been written by a contemporary of Pius, bishop of Rome, and is therefore to be placed about the year A.D. 160. Its genuineness has been generally acknowledged. Owing to its mutilation, the first two Gospels are not named; but there is no doubt that the canon recognised the four Gospels, as the Gospel of Luke is mentioned as the third, and the Gospel of John as the fourth; and we may therefore infer that the first and second Gospels were mentioned in that part of the canon which is wanting.¹

Tatian (A.D. 160) is another important witness to the existence of the Synoptic Gospels in the middle of the second century. He was, as he himself informs us, born in the land of Assyria, and was a disciple of Justin Martyr. After the death of Justin he fell into heresy, having adopted the errors of the Encratites, a Gnostic sect of an ascetic nature, related to Marcion.² His Diatessaron, or Harmony of the Four Gospels, was his great work, and was probably written before his lapse into heresy.³ Eusebius informs us that "Tatian composed a certain combination and collection of the Gospels, to which he gave the name Diatessaron, and which is current

Armitage Robinson and M. R. James; *Bruchstücke des Evangelium und der Apocalypse des Petrus*, by Harnack, 1893; *Das Evangelium des Petrus*, by Zahn, 1893; Gebhart, *Das Evangelium und die Apocalypse Petrus*; Schubert, *Die Composition der pseudopetrinischen Evangelien-Fragmente*; Dr. Salmon's (of Dublin) *Introduction to the N.T.*, 7th edition, Appendix, Note III., The Gospel of Peter, pp. 581-589; *The Newly-Discovered Gospel of St. Peter*, by J. Rendel Harris, 1893.

¹ The fullest account of the Muratorian canon is given by Tregelles in his "*Canon Muratorianus*, the earliest catalogue of the books of the New Testament, edited with notes, and a facsimile of the MS. in the Ambrosian Library at Milan." A transcript of it is given by Kirchhofer in his *Quellen-sammlung*, pp. 1, 2; by Westcott in his *Canon of the New Testament*, pp. 466-480; and by Dr. Charteris in his *Canonicity*, pp. 3-8.

² Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* i. 28. 1, iii. 23. 8.

³ Besides the Diatessaron, Tatian wrote an "Address to the Greeks," entitled, *Τὰ τριῶν θεῶν πρὸς Ἕλληνας*, a work of great merit.

with some persons even in the present day.”¹ And Epiphanius says: “The Diatessaron Gospel is said to have been composed by Tatian.”² This harmony of the Gospels was in great repute in the fifth century among the Syrian Churches. Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus (A.D. 420), informs us that “Tatian composed the Gospel which is called the Diatessaron, omitting the genealogies and whatever other passages show that our Lord was born of the seed of David according to the flesh;” and he tells us that in his diocese there were more than two hundred copies of it.³ Dionysius Bar-Salibi, an Armenian bishop of the twelfth century, informs us that Ephræm Syrus (A.D. 370) wrote a commentary upon it.⁴ Its existence was called in question, and it was asserted that Tatian’s Diatessaron was not a harmony of the four Gospels, but was to be ranked among the uncanonised or spurious Gospels.⁵ This assertion has been recently proved to be unfounded. The commentary of Ephræm Syrus has been discovered in an Armenian version in the Armenian convent near Venice, in two manuscripts, bearing the date A.D. 1195, and agreeing with what we know of Tatian’s harmony; and a Latin translation of it by Aucher, one of the Armenian monks, was corrected and published by Mœsinger in 1876.⁶ But more recently still two manuscripts have been discovered by Professor Agostino Ciasca, the one in the Vatican and the other in the Borgian Museum, containing Arabic translations of the Diatessaron itself.⁷ A note attached

¹ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 29.

² Epiphanius, *Hær.* xlv. 1.

³ Theodoret, *Hær. Fab.* i. 20, ii. 158 ff. Theodoret regarded the Diatessaron with prejudice. He says that he collected and put away all the copies and substituted the Gospels of the four evangelists in their stead. He is mistaken in asserting that Tatian purposely omitted passages which referred to Christ being born of the seed of David.

⁴ Assemani, *Biblioth. Orient.* ii. p. 158 ff.

⁵ *Supernatural Religion*, vol. ii. p. 152 ff.

⁶ *Evangelii concordantis expositio facta a Sancto Ephræmo Doctore Syro. In Latinum translata a J. B. Aucher. Edidit Mœsinger. Venetiis, 1876.* See on the discovery of Ephræm’s commentary on Tatian’s Diatessaron two interesting articles by Professor Wace in the *Expositor* for 1882, and Zahn’s *Tatian’s Diatessaron*, p. 240 ff.

⁷ At the end of the Vatican MS. is written: “Here endeth by the help of God the sacred Gospel which Tatian collected out of the four Gospels,

to each asserts that it is Tatian's Diatessaron. A translation was published by Ciasca in 1888, based upon the two Arabic manuscripts, accompanied by introductory explanations.¹ An English translation has been made by the Rev. J. Hamlyn Hill (1894), with an important introduction and several appendices.² It has also been proved that the Codex Fuldensis, a Latin version of the New Testament belonging to the sixth century in the form of a harmony, is probably based on the Diatessaron.³ The importance of this discovery is very great. There is no doubt whatever that we have here manuscripts of the translation of the Diatessaron; and accordingly it is now demonstrated that Tatian composed a harmony of the four canonical Gospels.⁴ He used our Gospels only: there is no trace of any non-canonical Gospels. The difference is but slight between it and our Gospels: there are few additions and omissions. The most important omissions are the genealogies of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, as Theodoret testifies, and as is found to be the case in the Borgian Arabic manuscript.⁵ It is very valuable as a harmony, and, indeed, can bear a comparison with recent harmonies.⁶ It is not improbable that the Diatessaron was written, as Professor Zahn surmises, in Syriac, and that the version which was employed was the Curetonian version.⁷ This will account for and which is commonly called the Diatessaron"; and at the beginning of the Borgian MS.: "With the assistance of the Most High God we begin to translate the holy Gospel entitled the Diatessaron, which Tatian, a Greek, compiled out of the four Gospels."

¹ *Tatiani Evangeliorum Harmonie Arabice*, 1888.

² "The earliest life of Christ ever compiled from the Four Gospels, being the Diatessaron of Tatian, literally transcribed from the Arabic Version, and containing the Four Gospels woven in one story," by the Rev. J. Hamlyn Hill. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1894. The translation is from the Latin translation of the Arabic versions by Ciasca compared with the Arabic.

³ See article by H. Wace in *Expositor* for 1881.

⁴ See Rendel Harris' *Diatessaron of Tatian*; Hemphill's *Diatessaron*.

⁵ The Vatican MS. contains the genealogies, but in the Borgian MS. they are absent from the body of the work, and are inserted in an Appendix.

⁶ See Hamlyn Hill's translation, and the Appendices attached to it. The variations between the Diatessaron and the Gospels are wonderfully small.

⁷ Zahn's *Tatian's Diatessaron*, pp. 18, 229. Zahn, before the discovery of the Arabic MSS., attempted a reconstruction of Tatian's works, chiefly from Ephraem's commentary.

the comparative ignorance of it in the Latin and Greek Churches, and for its use in the Syriac Churches. It was looked upon with suspicion by the early Fathers, on account of the heretical views of the author.¹

Next in order is the important testimony of Justin Martyr (A.D. 150). The extant works of Justin consist of two Apologies and a dialogue with Trypho the Jew. The Apologies were addressed to Antoninus Pius, and are assigned to the middle of the second century. In them he speaks frequently of the Memoirs or Memorabilia of the Apostles. The Gospels are not named, but there are various quotations from them; and the incidents of our Lord's life mentioned by Justin are in accordance with them. It is true that in the quotations the precise words are not given; Justin appears to have quoted from memory; but that is also the case with his quotations from the Old Testament. Justin informs us that the Memoirs of the Apostles were read publicly in the churches, and were regarded with as much reverence as the writings of the prophets. The quotations and references to our Gospels are exceedingly numerous; and whatever dubiety there may be as regards St. John's Gospel,² there is no doubt whatever that the Synoptic Gospels are repeatedly quoted. Thus Matthew is directly quoted in these words: "Christ when on earth told those who said that Elias would come before Christ, Elias will indeed come and restore all things; but I say unto you that Elias came already, and they knew him not, but did to him all that they listed. And it is written, Then understood the disciples that He spoke to them of John the Baptist"³ (Matt. xvii. 13); Mark is directly quoted in the following words: "It is said that He changed the name of one of the apostles to Peter; and it is written in the Memoirs of Him that He changed the name of other two brothers, the sons of

¹ See an elaborate article on Tatian by Professor Fuller of King's College, London, in Smith's *Dictionary of Biography*, and another by Müller in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie*, vol. xv. pp. 208 ff.

² That Justin used the Gospel of John is now generally admitted. See Ezra Abbot's work on the *Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*.

³ *Dial.* ch. xlix.

Zebedee, to Boanerges, which means the sons of thunder”¹ (Mark iii. 16, 17); and Luke is directly quoted in these words: “For when Christ was giving up His spirit on the cross, He said, Father, into Thy hands I commend My spirit, as I have learned from the Memoirs”² (Luke xxiii. 46). It is true that there are one or two incidents mentioned by Justin which are not recorded in our Gospels, and which have given rise to the assertion that Justin did not quote from the Synoptics, but from some uncanonical Gospel.³ Thus Justin says that “Christ being regarded as a worker in wood, did make while among men ploughs and yokes, thus setting before them symbols of righteousness, and teaching them an active life;”⁴ and that “when Jesus came to Jordan, where John was baptizing, upon His entering the water a fire was kindled in the Jordan.”⁵ But these extra-canonical incidents are few, and may be accounted for either as inferences which Justin drew from the statements of the evangelists, or as traditions of the life of Jesus which at that early period survived in the Church. As Paley remarks: “In all Justin’s works, from which might be extracted almost a complete life of Christ, there are but two instances in which he refers to anything as said or done by Christ which is not related concerning Him in the present Gospels; which shows that these Gospels, and these alone, were the authorities from which the Christians of that day drew the information on which they depended.”⁶

We now come to the important and much controverted statement of Papias (A.D. 120). Papias, bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, may well be regarded as an apostolic Father, as he was either, along with Polycarp, a disciple of the Apostle John,⁷ or a disciple of John the Presbyter.⁸ He

¹ *Dial.* ch. cvi.

² *Dial.* ch. cv.

³ Thus De Wette mentions among the uncanonical Gospels the Gospel of Justin, §§ 66, 67.

⁴ *Dial. cum Tryph.* ch. lxxxviii.

⁵ *Idem.*

⁶ Paley’s *Evidences of Christianity*, pt. i. ch. ix. § 1.

⁷ Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* v. 33. 4.

⁸ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 39. It is a question whether John the Presbyter ever existed, or whether this is merely another name for

professes to have conversed with those who were intimate with several of the apostles. He was a voluminous writer, his chief work being an exposition of the discourses of our Lord (λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις); but only a few fragments of his works remain preserved by Eusebius.¹ We have the following important testimony to the Gospels of Matthew and Mark: "John the Presbyter also said, Mark having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately, though not indeed in order, whatsoever he remembered of the things said or done by Christ. For he neither heard the Lord nor followed Him; but afterward, as is said, he followed Peter, who adapted his teaching to the needs of his hearers, but with no intention of giving a connected account of the Lord's discourses, so that Mark committed no error, while he thus wrote some things as he remembered them. For he was careful of one thing, not to omit any of the things which he had heard, and not to state any of them falsely. These things are related by Papias concerning Mark. Concerning Matthew he writes as follows: Matthew composed his discourses (λόγια) in the Hebrew language, and everyone interpreted them as he was able."² This statement will, in the course of our Introduction, frequently occupy our attention; much has been made of it in the question regarding the origin of the Synoptic Gospels. It proves

John the apostle. Gloag's *Introduction to the Johannine Writings*, pp. 268-270.

¹ On the fragments from Papias, see Holtzmann's *Synopt. Evangel.* pp. 248 ff.; Weizsäcker, *Untersuch. über d. evang. Geschichte*; Steitz in Herzog's *Encykl.* 1st ed. vol. xi. pp. 79 f.

² Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 39. The words of Papias are so very important, and will be so often referred to, that we give this quotation from Eusebius in full: Καὶ τοῦτο ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἔλεγε· Μάρκος μὲν ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου γενομένος ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν· οὐ μέντοι τάξει τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα. Οὔτε γὰρ ἤκουσε τοῦ κυρίου, οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ, ὕστερον δέ, ὡς ἔφην, Πέτρω, ὃς πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λόγον, ὥστε οὐδὲν ἡμαρτε Μάρκος, οὕτως ἔνια γράψας ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν. Ἐνὸς γὰρ ἐποιήσατο πρόνοιαν, τοῦ μηδὲν ὧν ἤκουσε παραλιπεῖν, ἢ ψεύσασθαι τι ἐν αὐτοῖς. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἰστέριται τῷ Παπίᾳ περὶ τοῦ Μάρκου. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ματθαίου ταῦτ' εἴρηται· Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο. Ἡρμήνευσε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ᾗδύνατο ἕκαστος.

that in the time of Papias writings did exist which bore the names of the first two evangelists, Matthew and Mark.¹

We do not carry our investigation further back. In the writings of the apostolic Fathers there are allusions more or less distinct to the Synoptic Gospels, and especially in the Didaché there is a distinct correspondence to the Sermon on the Mount; but as such evidence relates to particular Gospels rather than to the Synoptic Gospels collectively, it will be considered in its proper place.

Besides these quotations from the Fathers, there is also the evidence derived from the ancient versions, especially the old Latin and the Syriac. The old Latin (*Vetus Latina*) must have existed about A.D. 170, because it is quoted and used by Tertullian and in the Latin translation of Irenæus. It was made, not for the use of the Church of Rome, which was at first Greek, but for the Christians in the Roman province of Africa, of which Carthage was the capital. All the manuscripts contain the four Gospels. The Syriac is probably the earliest version, as it would be the first required; and the probability is that Tatian made use of it in the composition of his Diatessaron. There are good reasons for fixing its date about the middle of the second century (A.D. 150).² Although some of the books of Scripture are omitted, yet in all the Syriac manuscripts the four Gospels are found. Some suppose that the Peshito, the well-known Syriac version, is not the original form of the Syriac, but a revised version from an older form, of which the

¹ It has been asserted that Papias does not here speak of our Gospels, but of an original Mark (Ur-Marcus) and an original Matthew (Ur-Matthæus), from which our Gospels were derived; or else he mentions two distinct documents, "the teaching of Peter," as given by Mark, and "the logia of Matthew," which formed the chief sources of the Synoptic Gospels. These opinions will afterwards form the subject of discussion. Others assert that there is no reason to suppose that Papias does not refer to our canonical Gospels then existing. See Lightfoot's *Essays on Supernatural Religion*, pp. 163-168. Papias does not refer to Luke; and, of course, his testimony has no bearing upon the genuineness of that Gospel.

² "There is no sufficient reason," observes Westcott, "to desert the opinion, which has obtained the sanction of the most competent scholars, that its formation is to be fixed within the first half of the second century." Westcott, *On the Canon*, p. 211.

Curetonian manuscript is a fragment; and that the Peshito bears the same relation to the ancient Syriac as the Vulgate does to the old Latin.¹

Such is the evidence for the genuineness of the Synoptic Gospels as a whole. No classical writing of the ancients has the same amount of testimony. When we consider the universal acceptance of these Gospels toward the close of the second century, the reverence shown to them as sacred books, their wide distribution throughout all the provinces of the Roman Empire, the explicit testimony of Justin Martyr to them in the middle of that century, their translation into the Latin and Syriac languages, we cannot fail to be convinced that they are the genuine records of the life of Christ. The hypothesis that they were inventions is inadmissible in regard to documents written so soon after the events they purport to record, and they were of an importance too vital to those to whom they were addressed, to be received on insufficient evidence. The theory of Strauss, that the Gospels contain myths and legends, which half a century ago made such a noise, and was regarded as a formidable objection, is now generally discarded as utterly baseless; the time between the events recorded and the publication of these Gospels is too short to admit of such a prolific growth of legends or myths.² And so, also, the more acute and ingenious theory of Baur, that the Gospels and other books of Scripture were written with a tendency-design, either as statements of Pauline or of Petrine Christianity, or with a view to mediate between two antagonistic systems, has now few adherents.³ Hilgenfeld and Holsten, and perhaps we may also include Pfleiderer, are almost the only real representatives of the Tübingen school, and yet their opinions differ materially from

¹ See on this point Westcott and Hort's *Greek Testament*, vol. ii. p. 84. The Syriac version, found by Mrs. Lewis in 1893 in the monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai, is supposed to be a variation of the Curetonian version.

² Row's *Jesus of the Evangelists*, ch. xvi.; Fairbairn's *Christ of Modern History*, pp. 232-242.

³ According to Baur, Matthew contained Petrine and Luke Pauline Christianity; whilst Mark was conciliatory, and John contained the full reconciliation of Petrine and Pauline Christianity in the Catholic Church.

those of Baur. Even according to their own admission such tendency-designs are hardly recognisable in the Synoptic Gospels; because, before these Gospels were written, the antagonism of Pauline and Petrine Christianity had been smoothed down, and the Gospels were composed chiefly with a conciliatory design. In short, we are led from all evidence, external as well as internal, to accept the Synoptic Gospels as credible records of the deeds and words of Christ.¹ There are certainly great, perhaps insoluble, difficulties connected with their origin; but these, as we shall afterwards see, are not sufficient to shake our confidence in the credibility of the history.

IV. RELATION OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS TO EACH OTHER.

Until recent times it has been generally supposed that the three Synoptic Gospels were wholly independent narratives; that the evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, infallibly guided by the Spirit of God, each made a selection of the incidents of our Lord's life and of His discourses, without having seen the writings of the other two, or without having recourse to any common oral tradition or written document. Such an opinion, however, has not been confirmed by an examination of their contents. A perusal of the harmony of these Gospels, whether drawn up in English or in Greek, and especially an attentive consideration of the coincidences between them, both in the events recorded and in the language employed, must convince every unprejudiced reader that common materials must have been used in their construction, that absolute independence is by the facts of the case excluded, and that to a large extent there was a

¹ "We ought," observes Holtzmann, "at least with regard to the Synoptic Gospels, to maintain definitely that they contain as their kernel nothing else than the genuine, and in the chief features clearly recognisable portrait of Jesus of Nazareth." Holtzmann's *Kommentar: die Synoptiker*, p. 14. "I look," says Goethe, "upon the four Gospels as thoroughly genuine; for there is in them a reflection of a greatness which emanated from the person of Jesus, and which was of as divine a kind as ever was seen upon earth." *Conversations of Goethe with Eckermann*, p. 567. Bohn edition.

source or sources common to all three. But, along with these coincidences, there are points of difference, especially in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, which prove that the writers of these two Gospels must on these points have drawn their information from different sources. The Synoptic problem—which is the great question at present in the criticism of the New Testament—has to take account of these coincidences and differences, and to explain them by reference to the source or sources of the Gospels themselves. It is proved that there is a dependence between them, and the question is, What is the original basis of this dependence? But before we attempt to answer this question, and to consider the different theories that have been advanced, or to suggest any probable solution, it is essential that we should understand the conditions of the problem.

1. *Points of agreement.*—The Synoptic Gospels agree as to the *locality* of our Lord's ministry. They narrate chiefly the ministry in Galilee, omitting the ministry in Judæa, until the period of our Lord's passion; they are all Galilean Gospels; the references to the earlier Judæan ministry are only indirect and inferential. They agree as to the *duration* of the ministry. There is only mention of one Passover, that at which our Lord suffered; and, were it not for the information afforded in John's Gospel, we might be led to infer that our Lord's ministry did not extend beyond one year. They agree as to the *order* of the ministry. Although there is a considerable variation in the chronological order of particular incidents, yet the general order, in its main features, is the same. In their accounts of Christ's public ministry they all commence with the preaching of the Baptist and the baptism and temptation of Christ, relate the ministry of Galilee in a somewhat similar order, mention the great crises that occurred in the middle of that ministry,—the confession of the Messiahship of Jesus by the disciples, and the Transfiguration,—and close their narratives by an account of our Lord's death and resurrection. They agree, to a large extent, in the *incidents recorded*. Although the works and discourses of Jesus must have been far more numerous than those related, as the Gospel of John proves, yet more than a half of the incidents

mentioned in the Synoptics are the same in all three. "If," observes Holtzmann, "Jesus doubtless delivered unrecorded sayings, how is it that the narrators have limited themselves to the same selection? If Jesus healed so many sick, why do all three record almost only the same examples? If He pronounces a woe on Chorazin and Bethsaida, as Matthew and Luke record, how is it that neither of these evangelists mention the conduct which merited such a denunciation?"¹

But there is not merely a similarity in the selection of incidents and discourses, but what is even more remarkable, there is a similarity in the language in which these incidents and discourses are expressed. In the examination of this point we are greatly assisted by Rushbrooke's *Synopticon*, a work of immense labour and utility.²

1. *The threefold narrative*.—As already observed, there is a remarkable sameness in the incidents recorded by all the three Synoptists. The following sections are common to all three:—

Ministry of the Baptist, Matt. iii. 1–12; Mark i. 2–8; Luke iii. 1–18.

Baptism of Christ, Matt. iii. 13–17; Mark i. 9–11; Luke iii. 21, 22.

Temptation of Christ, Matt. iv. 1–11; Mark i. 12, 13; Luke iv. 1–13.

Call of the four apostles, Matt. iv. 18–22; Mark i. 16–19; Luke v. 1, 2, 9–11.

¹ Holtzmann's *Einleitung*, p. 331. See also Salmon's *Introduction to the N.T.* p. 139: "The Synoptic Gospels," he observes, "agree in the main in their selection of facts—all travelling over nearly the same ground, though independent narrators would be sure to have differed a good deal in their choice of subjects for narration out of a public life of three years. In point of fact, we find exactly such a difference between the life of our Lord as related by St. John and by the Synoptics."

² *Synopticon*, an exposition of the common matter of the Synoptic Gospels, by W. G. Rushbrooke, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. London: Macmillan & Co., 1887. Rushbrooke first gives us what he calls "the triple tradition of the Synoptics," in parallel columns, taking the Gospel of Mark as the type, marking in red colour the words in which all three agree; and then in an appendix the twofold edition of Matthew and Luke, with distinctive types marking their agreements and differences, and lastly, the single tradition of Matthew and Luke.

Cure of Peter's mother-in-law, Matt. viii. 14-17; Mark i. 29-34; Luke iv. 38-43.

Cleansing of the leper, Matt. viii. 1-4; Mark i. 40-45; Luke v. 12-16.

Cure of the paralytic man, Matt. ix. 1-8; Mark ii. 1-12; Luke v. 17-26.

Call of Matthew, Matt. ix. 9-17; Mark ii. 13-22; Luke v. 27-39.

Our Lord's discourse on the Sabbath, Matt. xii. 1-8; Mark ii. 23-28; Luke vi. 1-5.

Cure of the man with the withered hand, Matt. xii. 9-15; Mark iii. 1-6; Luke vi. 6-11.

Confutation of the statement that Christ cast out devils through Beelzebub, Matt. xii. 22-45; Mark iii. 20-30; Luke xi. 14-23.

Parable of the Sower, Matt. xiii. 1-23; Mark iv. 1-20; Luke viii. 4-15.

Stilling of the tempest, Matt. viii. 18-27; Mark iv. 35-41; Luke viii. 22-25.

Cure of the Gadarene demoniac, Matt. viii. 28-34; Mark v. 1-20; Luke viii. 26-39.

Raising of the daughter of Jairus, Matt. ix. 18-26; Mark v. 21-43; Luke viii. 40-56.

Mission of the twelve, Matt. x. 1-15; Mark vi. 7-13; Luke ix. 1-6.

Feeding of the five thousand, Matt. xiv. 13-21; Mark vi. 31-44; Luke ix. 10-17.

Confession of the apostles that Jesus is the Messiah, Matt. xvi. 13-28; Mark viii. 27-33; Luke ix. 18-27.

The transfiguration, Matt. xvii. 1-10; Mark ix. 2-9; Luke ix. 28-36.

Cure of the demoniac boy, Matt. xvii. 14-21; Mark ix. 14-29; Luke ix. 37-43.

Dispute among the disciples concerning precedence, Matt. xviii. 1-5; Mark ix. 33-37; Luke ix. 46-48.

Blessing pronounced on children, Matt. xix. 13-15; Mark x. 13-16; Luke xviii. 15-17.

Our Lord's address to the rich ruler, Matt. xix. 16-30; Mark x. 17-31; Luke xviii. 18-30.

Cure of the blind man at Jericho, Matt. xx. 29-34 ; Mark x. 46-52 ; Luke xviii. 35-43.

Entrance into Jerusalem, Matt. xxi. 1-11 ; Mark xi. 1-11 ; Luke xix. 29-44.

Expulsion of the buyers and sellers from the temple, Matt. xxi. 12-14 ; Mark xi. 15-17 ; Luke xix. 45, 46.

Parable of the Vineyard, Matt. xxi. 33-46 ; Mark xii. 1-12 ; Luke xx. 9-19.

Refutation of the Sadducees, Matt. xxii. 15-33 ; Mark xii. 18-34 ; Luke xx. 20-40.

Our Lord's appeal to Ps. cx., Matt. xxii. 41-46 ; Mark xii. 35-37 ; Luke xx. 41-45.

Prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem, Matt. xxiv. 1-36 ; Mark xiii. 1-36 ; Luke xxi. 5-36.

Institution of the supper, Matt. xxvi. 17-29 ; Mark xiv. 17-26 ; Luke xxii. 14-23.

The agony in Gethsemane, Matt. xxvi. 30-46 ; Mark xiv. 26-42 ; Luke xxii. 39-46.

Arrest of Christ, Matt. xxvi. 47-58 ; Mark xiv. 43-54 ; Luke xxii. 47-58.

Denial of Peter, Matt. xxvi. 69-73 ; Mark xiv. 66-72 ; Luke xxii. 54-62.

Narrative of the Passion, Matt. xxvii. ; Mark xv. ; Luke xxiii.

Narrative of the Resurrection, Matt. xxviii. ; Mark xvi. ; Luke xxiv.

In the narration of these incidents there is frequently a close identity of language. We give two examples in the words of the Revised Version, in which the nature of the resemblance may be as clearly seen as in the Greek. The first example is the words spoken by Jesus to the Pharisees when He cured the paralytic man.

MATT. ix. 4-8.

Wherefore think ye evil in your hearts ? For whether is easier, to say, Thy sins are forgiven ; or to say, Arise, and walk ? But that ye may know that the Son of Man hath power on earth

MARK ii. 8-11.

Why reason ye these things in your hearts ? Whether is easier, to say to the sick of the palsy, Thy sins are forgiven : or to say, Arise, and take up thy bed, and walk ? But that ye may

LUKE v. 22-26.

What reason ye in your hearts ? Whether is easier, to say, Thy sins are forgiven thee ; or to say, Arise, and walk ? But that ye may know that the Son of Man hath power on earth

to forgive sins (then saith He to the sick of the palsy), Arise, and take up thy bed, and go unto thy house.

know that the Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins (He saith to the sick of the palsy), I say unto thee, Arise, take up thy bed, and go unto thy house.

to forgive sins (He said unto him that was palsied), I say unto thee, Arise, and take up thy couch, and go unto thy house.

The other example is taken from our Lord's prophecy concerning the destruction of Jerusalem.

MATT. xxiv. 32-35.

Now from the fig tree learn her parable : when her branch is now become tender, and putteth forth its leaves, ye know that summer is nigh ; even so ye also, when ye see all these things, know ye that He is nigh, even at the doors. Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass away, till all these things be accomplished. Heaven and earth shall pass away : but my words shall not pass away.

MARK xiii. 28-31.

Now from the fig tree learn her parable : when her branch is now become tender, and putteth forth its leaves, ye know that summer is nigh ; even so ye also, when ye see these things coming to pass, know ye that He is nigh, even at the doors. Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass away, until all these things be accomplished. Heaven and earth shall pass away : but my words shall not pass away.

LUKE xxi. 29-33.

Behold the fig tree, and all the trees : when they now shoot forth, ye see it and know of your own selves that the summer is now nigh. Even so ye also, when ye see these things coming to pass, know ye that the kingdom of God is nigh. Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass away, till all things be accomplished. Heaven and earth shall pass away : but my words shall not pass away.

But these passages are only examples of a similarity of language, approaching to identity, which pervades the accounts of the three evangelists. Numerous other examples might be given : as the call of Matthew (Matt. ix. 9-17 ; Mark ii. 13-22 ; Luke v. 27-39), the parable of the Sower (Matt. xiii. 1-34 ; Mark iv. 1-34 ; Luke viii. 4-18), the stilling of the storm and the cure of the Gadarene demoniac (Matt. viii. 18-34 ; Mark iv. 35-41, v. 1-20 ; Luke viii. 22-39), the feeding of the four thousand (Matt. xiv. 13-21 ; Mark vi. 30-44 ; Luke ix. 10-17), the transfiguration and the cure of the demoniac boy (Matt. xvii. 1-21 ; Mark ix. 2-8, 14-29 ; Luke ix. 28-43), and the entrance into Jerusalem (Matt. xxi. 1-11 ; Mark xi. 1-10 ; Luke xix. 29-44).

Such similarities, not merely of incident but of expression, with only slight variations, would in other writings demon-

strate an inherent dependence.¹ If we heard three discourses which although in some respects dissimilar, yet were interwoven with passages almost identical, we would rightly infer that in these passages the preachers copied from each other, or that they plagiarised from the same discourse. If, in the writings of the Fathers, we found passages almost identical with those contained in the Epistles of St. Paul, we should be justified in inferring that there was a distinct reference to the writings of that apostle. Three eye-witnesses in recording the same facts, if their reports were independent of each other, would not express themselves in the same words. And the case is still stronger if the general opinion be correct, that our Lord spoke, not in Greek, but in Aramaic,² and that consequently the words of His discourses given us by the evangelists are translations; and it is highly improbable that in translating they would use precisely the same words. We are then constrained to adopt one or other of three suppositions: either that the evangelists copied from each other; or that they all had recourse to some common document; or that there was an oral or traditional Gospel—a collection of the sayings of Christ and of the incidents in His life which had in many points become stereotyped. These suppositions are reserved for after consideration.

The twofold narrative.—But there is not only a threefold narrative,—an agreement of all three evangelists in the incidents recorded, and often almost an identity of language,—but there is a twofold narrative, where two of the evangelists agree—Matthew and Mark, Mark and Luke, and Matthew and Luke.

The principal incidents and discourses common to Matthew and Mark and not found in Luke are:—

The mode of the Baptist's martyrdom, Matt. xiv. 1–12; Mark vi. 14–29.

Our Lord's walking on the water, Matt. xiv. 22–33; Mark vi. 45–51.

¹ "The verbal and material agreement," observes Archbishop Thomson, of the first three evangelists "is such as does not occur in any other authors who have written independently of one another."

² The ordinary language of our Lord and His apostles will afterwards form the subject of discussion.

The discourse on the traditions of the elders, Matt. xv. 1-20; Mark vii. 1-23.

The cure of the daughter of the Syro-Phœnician woman, Matt. xv. 21-28; Mark vii. 24-30.

Feeding of the four thousand, Matt. xv. 32-38; Mark viii. 1-9.

Discussion on the Mosaic law concerning divorce, Matt. xix. 3-10; Mark x. 2-11.

Petition of the sons of Zebedee and their mother, Matt. xx. 20-28; Mark x. 35-45.

The withering of the fig tree, Matt. xxi. 18-22; Mark xi. 13, 14, 20.

The anointing of our Lord before His passion,¹ Matt. xxvi. 6-13; Mark xiv. 3-9.

The utterance of Jesus on the cross, My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me? Matt. xxvii. 46-49; Mark xv. 34, 35.

Here also there is often a close identity of language. We take as an example the anointing of our Lord before His passion, an incident which is also recorded, but in very different language, by St. John.

MATT. XXVI. 6-13.

Now when Jesus was in Bethany, in the house of Simon the leper, there came unto Him a woman having an alabaster eruse of exceeding precious ointment, and she poured it upon His head, as He sat at meat. But when the disciples saw it, they had indignation, saying, To what purpose is this waste? For this ointment might have been sold for much, and given to the poor. But Jesus perceiving it, said unto them, Why trouble ye the woman? for she hath wrought a good work upon me. For ye have the poor always with you; but me ye have not always. For in that she poured this ointment upon my body, she did it to prepare me for burial. Verily I say

MARK XIV. 3-19.

And while He was in Bethany, in the house of Simon the leper, as He sat at meat, there came a woman having an alabaster eruse of ointment of spikenard very costly; and she brake the eruse, and poured it over His head. But there were some that had indignation among themselves, saying, To what purpose hath this waste of the ointment been made? For this ointment might have been sold for above three hundred pence, and given to the poor. And they murmured against her. But Jesus said, Let her alone; why trouble ye her? she hath wrought a good work on me. For ye have the poor always with you, and whensoever ye will ye can do them

¹ We consider this anointing different from that by the sinful woman mentioned in Luke's Gospel.

unto you, Whersoever this gospel shall be preached in the whole world, that also which this woman hath done shall be spoken of for a memorial of her.

good : but me ye have not always. She hath done what she could ; she hath anointed my body aforehand for the burying. And verily I say unto you, Whersoever the gospel shall be preached throughout the whole world, that also which this woman hath done shall be spoken of for a memorial of her.

This example is perhaps not so convincing an argument in favour of a common source, as it is just possible that two witnesses might have expressed themselves in terms somewhat similar ; but compare with it the narrative in St. John's Gospel, where the difference is much more marked.

The incidents common to Mark and Luke, but omitted by Matthew, are not numerous. They are as follows—

The casting out of an unclean spirit, Mark i. 23–28 ; Luke iv. 33–37.

Declaration of our Lord that He must preach the gospel in other places, Mark i. 35–38 ; Luke iv. 42, 43.

The apostles forbidding a man to cast out devils in Christ's name, Mark ix. 38–40 ; Luke ix. 49, 50.

The incident of the widow's mite, Mark xii. 41–44 ; Luke xxi. 1–4.

We take this last as an example of identity of language—

MARK xii. 43, 44.

Verily I say unto you, This poor widow cast in more than all they which are casting into the treasury : for they all did cast in of their superfluity ; but she of her want did cast in all that she had, *even* all her living.

LUKE xxi. 3, 4.

Of a truth I say unto you, This poor widow cast in more than they all : for all these did of their superfluity cast in unto the gifts : but she of her want did cast in all the living that she had.

The coincidences in the twofold narrative of Matthew and Luke are still more remarkable. These two evangelists agree in recording the following particulars :—

Address of the Baptist to the scribes and Pharisees, Matt. iii. 8–10 ; Luke iii. 8, 9.

Threefold temptation of our Lord, Matt. iv. 1–11 ; Luke iv. 1–13.

Cure of the centurion's servant, Matt. viii. 5–13 ; Luke vii. 1–10.

Our Lord's address to those who professed a desire to follow Him, Matt. viii. 19-22 ; Luke ix. 57-60.

His exhortations to His disciples, Matt. x. 5-16, 24-26 ; Luke x. 1-12, xii. 2-9, 51-53.

Mission of the disciples of the Baptist to Christ, Matt. xi. 2-19 ; Luke vii. 18-35.

The woe pronounced on the cities of Galilee, Matt. xi. 20-24 ; Luke x. 12-15.

The gospel hid from the wise and prudent, Matt. xi. 25-27 ; Luke x. 21, 22.

Our Lord's answer to the Pharisees when they asked of Him a sign from heaven, Matt. xii. 38-45 ; Luke xi. 29-32.

The parable of the Leaven, Matt. xiii. 33 ; Luke xiii. 20, 21.

The parable of the Lost Sheep, Matt. xviii. 12-14 ; Luke xv. 3-7.

The parable of the Marriage Feast, Matt. xxii. 1-10 ; Luke xiv. 15-24.

The woe pronounced on the Pharisees, Matt. xxiii. 13-36 ; Luke xi. 37-80.

The woe pronounced on Jerusalem, Matt. xxiii. 37-39 ; Luke xiii. 34, 35.

The faithful and unfaithful stewards, Matt. xxiv. 45-51 ; Luke xii. 42-48.

The parable of the Talents and of the Pounds, Matt. xxv. 14-30 ; Luke xi. 11-28.¹

The instances of identity of language in these two Gospels are very numerous and striking ; sometimes the identity is absolute, as in the two following examples :—

MATT. vi. 24.

No man can serve two masters : for either he will hate the one, and love the other ; or else he will hold to one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.

LUKE xvi. 13.

No servant can serve two masters : for either he will hate the one, and love the other ; or else he will hold to one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.

MATT. xi. 25-27.

I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that Thou didst

LUKE x. 21, 22.

I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that Thou didst

¹ These parables, notwithstanding their resemblances, are generally considered as different. See Trench on the Parables.

hide these things from the wise and understanding, and didst reveal them unto babes : yea, Father, for so it was well-pleasing in Thy sight. All things have been delivered unto me of my Father : and no one knoweth the Son, save the Father ; neither doth any know the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him.

hide these things from the wise and understanding, and didst reveal them unto babes : yea, Father, for so it was well-pleasing in Thy sight. All things have been delivered unto me of my Father : and no one knoweth who the Son is, save the Father ; and who the Father is, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him.

Numerous other passages might be given where the identity of language is also striking ; for example, compare Matt. iii. 7-10, 12 with Luke iii. 7-9, 13 ; Matt. vii. 7-11 with Luke xi. 9-13 ; Matt. vi. 25-33 with Luke xii. 22-31 ; Matt. xiii. 33 with Luke xiii. 20, 21 ; Matt. xxiv. 43-51 with Luke xii. 39-46. Now this greatly complicates the problem. If the fact were that only the three Gospels agreed, or if only Matthew and Mark, and Mark and Luke agreed, we might refer them to a common source or an original Gospel, either the Gospel of Mark or one closely resembling it. But when Matthew and Luke also agree in incidents and discourses not found in Mark's Gospel, and where there is an identity of language in their statements, we are constrained to conclude, either that Matthew copied from Luke, or conversely,—an hypothesis which we shall afterwards see cannot be maintained,—or that there was a common source, whether oral or written, which contains the sayings found in both.

3. *The single narrative.*—But besides the coincidences common to these Gospels, each Gospel has its own peculiar incidents and discourses ; there is a single as well as a twofold and threefold narrative.

The following incidents and discourses are peculiar to the Gospel of Matthew : the genealogy of Jesus from David (i. 1-17) ; the annunciation to Joseph (i. 18-25) ; the adoration of the Magi, the massacre of the infants in Bethlehem, and the flight into Egypt (ii. 1-23) ; the Sermon on the Mount, given as a whole (v., vi., vii.) ; the cure of two blind men (ix. 27-34) ; the invitation to the weary and heavy laden (xi. 28-30) ; the parables of the Tares, the Hidden Treasure, the Merchant seeking goodly Pearls, and the Drag Net

(xiii. 24-53); the attempt of Peter to walk on the sea (xiv. 28-33); the blessing pronounced on Peter (xvi. 17-19); the parables of the Unforgiving Servant (xviii. 21-35), the Householder hiring Labourers for his Vineyard (xx. 1-16), the Ten Virgins (xxv. 1-13), and the Sheep and the Goats (xxv. 31-46); the resurrection of the saints after Christ's death (xxvii. 52, 53); the bribery of the soldiers to say that the disciples stole the body (xxviii. 11-15); the appearance of Christ on a mountain in Galilee, and the institution of Christian baptism (xxviii. 16-20).

The Gospel of Mark has little that is peculiar. Nearly the whole of it is contained in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke; about two-thirds of it are common to these Gospels, whilst the other third is contained partly in the Gospel of Matthew and partly in the Gospel of Luke,—a mere fragment, in all about seventeen verses, is peculiar to Mark. These peculiarities are the parable of the inperceptible Growth of the Seed (iv. 26-29), the cure of a deaf man who had an impediment in his speech (vii. 32-37), the cure of a blind man at Bethsaida (viii. 22-26), and the account of the man who followed Christ from Gethsemane, having a linen cloth cast about him (xiv. 51, 52). It may be thought that Mark's Gospel is a compilation, and that the incidents are borrowed from the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. But we are prevented from adopting this solution; a careful examination of Mark's Gospel proves that he is more graphic in his descriptions than the other two evangelists; that his account is more like that of an eye-witness than of a compiler, and that the incidents recorded are more expanded than those found in the other Gospels. Mark's Gospel is shorter, because it relates chiefly the incidents of the life of Christ, and gives only a few of His discourses.

The Gospel of Luke contains the following incidents and discourses peculiar to it:—The vision of Zacharias (i. 5-25); the annunciation (i. 26-38); the meeting between Elizabeth and Mary (i. 39-45); the song of Mary (i. 46-56); the birth of the Baptist and the prophecy of Zacharias (i. 57-80); the journey of Mary and Joseph to Bethlehem (ii. 1-7); the angel's message to the shepherds (ii. 8-20); the song of

Simeon (ii. 25-35); Anna the prophetess (ii. 36-40); Christ and the doctors (ii. 41-52); the genealogy of Jesus from Adam (iii. 23-38); the rejection of Jesus by the inhabitants of Nazareth (iv. 14-30); the miraculous draught of fishes (v. 1-11); various sayings of Jesus scattered throughout the Gospel, and which are contained in Matthew's Sermon on the Mount; the raising of the widow's son at Naim (vii. 11-17); the anointing of the woman who was a sinner, and the parable of the Two Debtors (vii. 36-50); the wish expressed by James and John to call down fire on the Samaritans (ix. 51-56); the parable of the Good Samaritan (x. 25-37); our Lord's reception by Mary and Martha (x. 38-42); the parable of the Rich Man who boasted of his Goods (xii. 13-21); the parable of the Barren Fig Tree (xiii. 6-9); the cure of the woman with the spirit of infirmity (xiii. 10-17); the cure of the dropsical man on the Sabbath (xiv. 1-6); the parables of the Marriage Feast (xiv. 7-24), the Lost Piece of Money (xv. 8-10), the Prodigal Son (xv. 11-32), the Unjust Steward (xvi. 1-13), and the Rich Man and Lazarus (xvi. 19-21); the ten lepers and the grateful Samaritan (xvii. 11-19); the parable of the Unjust Judge and the Importunate Widow (xviii. 1-8); the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican (xviii. 9-14); the visit to Zaccheus (xix. 1-10); our Lord's examination before Herod (xxiii. 8-12); the address to the daughters of Jerusalem (xxiii. 27-31); the disciples going to Emmaus (xxiv. 13-35), and the ascension (xxiv. 50, 51).

There is a considerable passage in the middle of the Gospel of Luke, including at least three chapters (xiv., xv., xvi.),¹ which has only a very few resemblances to the other two Gospels. There are in it a few sayings and incidents which are common to all the Synoptics, and a few which are common to Matthew and Luke, but by far the larger portion is peculiar to Luke. It contains the important parables of the Marriage Feast, the Lost Piece of Money, the Lost Sheep,² the Prodigal Son, the Unjust Steward, and the Rich Man and Lazarus. It has received various names, being called "the

¹ Most critics consider the great insertion as including Luke ix. 51-xviii. 41.

² The parable of the Lost Sheep is also contained in Matthew's Gospel.

Journal of Travel" (*Reisebericht*), "the great interpolation or insertion" (*die grosse Einschaltung*), and "the Perean section." It would appear that Luke here made use of a source of information which was not possessed by the other two evangelists.

The amount of agreement between the three evangelists has been given in various forms by different writers. Thus, Archbishop Thomson says: "If the history be harmonised and then divided into 89 sections, it will be found that in 42 of these (nearly a half) all the narratives coincide, that 12 more are given by Matthew and Mark only, that 5 are common to Mark and Luke only, and that 14 are found in Matthew and Luke. To these should be added 5 peculiar to Matthew, 2 to Mark, and 9 to Luke, and the number is complete."¹ Bishop Westcott observes: "If the total contents of the several Gospels be represented by 100, the following table is obtained:—

	Peculiarities.	Concordances.
"Mark,	7	93
Matthew,	42	58
Luke,	59	41" ²

Another peculiarity, proving the mutual dependence of the three Synoptists, is the coincidence between them in their quotations from the Old Testament. In general, the quotations are made from the Septuagint; and in these cases the verbal agreement between them is easily accounted for, as these quotations are from the same version. But there are a few quotations from the Old Testament, in which the evangelists verbally agree, which are taken neither from the Hebrew nor from the Septuagint, and which accordingly seem to indicate that they were found in the document or documents which were common to them. Thus, for example, the quotation from Isa. xl. 3 is thus given in the three Synoptics: *φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, Ἐτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν Κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ* (Matt. iii. 3; Mark i. 3;

¹ The *Speaker's Bible*: New Testament, vol. i., Introduction, p. viii. See also article on the Gospels in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*.

² Westcott's *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, p. 177. Reuss gives a list of agreement according to the number of verses (*History of the N.T.* p. 177, translation), and Schaff according to the number of words. Bishop Westcott's table is taken from Stroud's *Greek Harmony of the Gospels*, Introduction, p. cxvii.

Luke iii. 4); whereas in the Septuagint, instead of *τρίβους αὐτοῦ*, we have the very important variation *τρίβους τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν*.¹ So, also, the quotation from Zech. xiii. 7, in which Matthew and Mark agree, except that Matthew adds *τῆς ποιμνῆς*, is given as follows: *πατάξω τὸν ποιμένα, καὶ διασκορπισθήσεται τὰ πρόβατα*: "I will smite the Shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered abroad" (Matt. xxvi. 31; Mark xiv. 37); whereas the words in the Septuagint are: *πατάξατε τοὺς ποιμένας καὶ ἐκσπάσατε τὰ πρόβατα*: "Smite ye the shepherds, and draw out the sheep."²

It is also important to remark that the identity of language is found chiefly in the sayings of others, and especially in the sayings of Jesus, and not in the mere narrative or statement of facts.³ The words of our Lord are frequently found verbatim in the different Gospels, especially in the sayings of our Lord contained in the Sermon on the Mount in Matthew's Gospel, and the precisely similar sayings found in different parts of Luke's Gospel. "By far the larger portion of this verbal agreement," observes Norton, "is found in the recital of the words of others, and particularly of the words of Jesus. Thus, in Matthew's Gospel, the passages verbally coincident with one or both of the other two Gospels amount to less than a sixth part of its contents; and of this, about seven-eighths occur in the recital of the words of others, and only about one-eighth in what, by way of distinction, I may call mere narrative, in which the evangelist, speaking in his own person, was unrestrained in the choice of his expressions. In Mark the proportion of coincident passages to the contents of the Gospel is about one-sixth, of which not one-fifth occurs in the narrative. Luke has still less agreement of expression with the other evangelists. The passages in which it is found amount only to about a tenth part of his Gospel; and

¹ In the Hebrew: "Make straight in the desert a highway for our God."

² There is here, however, a difference of reading in the manuscripts of the Septuagint. In the Hebrew it is: "Smite the Shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered."

³ See Bishop Thirlwall's introduction to his translation of Schleiermacher's *St. Luke*, p. 36.

but an inconsiderable portion of it appears in the narrative, in which there are very few instances of its existence for more than half a dozen words together.”¹

Another peculiarity in the Synoptic Gospels, on which stress has recently been laid, is the supposed existence of what have been called “doublets”; that is, expressions or incidents which are repeated in the same Gospel. Attention has been drawn to this point by Mr. Badham in his ingenious work on the *Formation of the Gospels*. He gives a long list of doublets, extending over twenty pages, found in the three Synoptic Gospels.² Most of these doublets, however, when examined, depend only on slight resemblances, or the repetition of a few words, and many of them are strained; and when the number is reduced by the omission of these, only a small residue remains. The following are a few of the most obvious and striking: In the Gospel of Matthew it is twice stated, in almost the same words, that Jesus went through the cities and villages of Galilee, preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of disease and all manner of sickness (Matt. iv. 23, ix. 35).³ The cure of a dumb man possessed with a devil, with the remark of the Pharisees upon it, that He cast out devils by Beelzebub, is twice recorded (Matt. ix. 32-34, xii. 22-24). So also in the Gospel of Luke, the saying about lighting a candle and putting it under a couch (Luke viii. 16, xi. 33), and the warning, “Whosoever shall save his life shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose his life for my sake, the same shall save it” (Luke ix. 24, xvii. 33), are twice repeated in language almost identical. It is twice stated that there was a contention among the disciples which of them should be the greatest (Luke ix. 46, xxii. 24). The inference which Mr. Badham draws from these phenomena is, that these doublets occurred in separate documents used by

¹ Norton on *The Genuineness of the Gospels*, vol. i. p. 240.

² Badham's *Formation of the Gospels*, pp. 12-23. This is a very ingenious, but somewhat unsatisfactory book. The recognition of doublets in the Gospel is interesting and suggestive, but we do not think very important.

³ These words refer to two different circuits of Christ in Galilee; the one at the commencement of His Galilean ministry, and the other towards its close.

the evangelists. But other reasons may be assigned for them. There is no improbability in the supposition that our Lord might repeat sayings of primary importance, especially if they were of the nature of proverbial expressions, such as that of concealing the light, and that solemn warning about saving the soul; the contention among the disciples for pre-eminence might have occurred on two different occasions; and the two incidents recorded in Matthew's Gospel of the cure of the dumb man possessed with a devil differ in some respects, and both might have occurred.¹ Thus there are two miracles of feeding the multitude which differ in several particulars, and only one of them is recorded by Luke.

II. *Points of difference.*—In considering the Synoptic problem we must attend, not merely to the points on which the evangelists agree, but also to the points on which they differ; the one class of phenomena is of as much importance as the other. We have already seen that whilst there is upon the whole an agreement between the Gospel of Mark and the other two, the Gospels of Matthew and Luke differ materially in their contents. Each has incidents and discourses which the other wants. Even in those passages where there is a general agreement, there are often important verbal differences. Thus in the encouragement to prayer given by our Lord, Matthew has: "How much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things (*ἀγαθά*) to them that ask Him?" (Matt. vii. 11); whilst Luke instead of "good things" has "the Holy Spirit" (*πνεῦμα ἅγιον*) (Luke xi. 13). In repelling the assertions of the Pharisees that He cast out devils through Beelzebub, Jesus is reported by Matthew as saying: "If I by the Spirit of God (*ἐν πνεύματι θεοῦ*) cast out devils" (Matt. xii. 28); whilst Luke has "by the finger of God" (*ἐν δακτύλῳ θεοῦ*) (Luke xi. 20). Speaking of the power of faith, our Lord, according to Matthew, says: "If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say to this mountain (*τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ*), Remove hence to yonder place" (Matt. xvii. 20); "whilst Luke has: "Whoso-

¹ In Matt. ix. 32-34 the man is represented as dumb, and possessed with a devil; whereas in Matt. xii. 22-24 he is represented as both blind and dumb.

ever shall say to this sycamine tree" (τῇ συκαμίνῳ ταύτῃ) (Luke xvii. 6). These differences cannot be accounted for on the ground that they are different translations from the Aramaic.¹

There are also striking differences in many of the events of our Lord's life which are recorded by Matthew and Luke. Thus in the accounts given of the birth of Christ—an event omitted in Mark's Gospel—there are important variations. There is no discrepancy between their accounts; both assert that Christ was born in Bethlehem, but they evidently drew their information from different sources. In Matthew the annunciation is made to Joseph; in Luke it is made to Mary. Matthew mentions the visit of the wise men; Luke, the visit of the shepherds. Matthew relates the massacre of the infants in Bethlehem and the flight to Egypt, neither of which particulars is recorded by Luke; whilst Luke mentions the circumcision and the presentation in the temple, both of which are omitted by Matthew. There is also a remarkable difference between Matthew and Luke with regard to the so-called Sermon on the Mount. In Matthew's Gospel it is given as one connected discourse; whereas the sayings contained in that discourse are scattered throughout Luke's Gospel, and are to be found in at least ten different places; almost the whole sermon given in Matthew's Gospel is thus contained in the Gospel of Luke. Comparing it as found in a connected form in Matthew's Gospel with the scattered portions of it in Luke's Gospel, we have the following table of coincidences:—

Matt. v. 3-12.	Luke vi. 20-25.	Matt. vi. 24.	Luke xvi. 13.
„ v. 13.	„ xiv. 34, 35.	„ vi. 25-34.	„ xii. 22-31.
„ v. 15.	„ xi. 33.	„ vii. 1-5.	„ vi. 37-42.
„ v. 18.	„ xvi. 17.	„ vii. 7-11.	„ xi. 9-13.
„ v. 25, 26.	„ xii. 57-59.	„ vii. 12.	„ vi. 31.
„ v. 31, 32.	„ xvi. 18.	„ vii. 13, 14.	„ xiii. 23, 24.
„ v. 38-48.	„ vi. 27-30, 32-36.	„ vii. 15-20.	„ vi. 43-45.
„ vi. 9-15.	„ xi. 1-4.	„ vii. 23.	„ xiii. 27.
„ vi. 19-21.	„ xii. 33, 34.	„ vii. 24-27.	„ vi. 47-49. ²
„ vi. 22, 23.	„ xi. 34-36.		

¹ See on these verbal variations, Bruce's *Kingdom of God*, p. 17.

² See Rushbrooke's *Synopticon*, pp. 138-147; Holtzmann's *Einleitung*, pp. 356, 357.

But not only are the sentiments the same, but there is often a remarkable identity in the language in which these sentiments are expressed. Compare Matt. v. 25, 26 with Luke xii. 57–59; Matt. vi. 9–13 with Luke xi. 1–4; Matt. vi. 21 with Luke xii. 34; Matt. vi. 24 with Luke xvi. 13; Matt. vi. 25–34 with Luke xii. 22–31; Matt. vii. 3–5 with Luke vi. 41, 42; Matt. vii. 7–11 with Luke xi. 9–13.¹ On the other hand, there are remarkable differences, as, for example, in the Beatitudes;² in Matthew they are extended, whilst in Luke they are abbreviated, and a series of corresponding denunciations is attached to them. Different inferences have been drawn from these points of agreement and difference.³ Some suppose, but contrary to all probability, that our Lord delivered two similar discourses, the one on the mount, recorded by Matthew, and the other on the plain, recorded by Luke.⁴ Tholuck gives the preference to the form contained in Matthew's Gospel, arguing from the continuity of its thoughts, and thinks that the narrative of Luke has less claim to originality.⁵ Others, as Olshausen and Godet, suppose that Matthew collected the sayings of our Lord into one discourse; whereas Luke gives them at the time when they were spoken,⁶ or, according to others, inserts them as he

¹ See Paul Ewald's *Evangelienfrage*, p. 216.

² In Matthew there are eight beatitudes; in Luke there are four.

³ In Matthew's Gospel it is said that our Lord went up to a mountain and there addressed the multitude; and from the manner in which the discourse is introduced, we are led to suppose that it was then delivered. Probably a large portion of it was delivered on that occasion; and additions were afterwards added by the evangelist.

⁴ There can be no reasonable doubt that the discourse related in Luke vi. 20–49 is the same as that related by Matthew.

⁵ Tholuck's *Sermon on the Mount*, translation: "The narrative of Luke," he observes, "has less claim to be considered a faithful account than that of Matthew" (p. 17). "Our conclusion is that the arrangement of the sayings of our Lord given by Matthew in his account of the Sermon on the Mount is in the main correct" (p. 27).

⁶ Olshausen, *On the Gospels*, vol. i. p. 182: "The unity of the Sermon on the Mount," he observes, "has not descended to us from the Saviour Himself, but from Matthew." "It does not appear to me," observes Godet, "that in the majority of these cases (those given by Luke) a thorough student of the subject could refuse to give the preference to the position indicated by the third Gospel." Godet's *Biblical Studies*, pp. 15, 16.

found them in the written documents which he employed, or in the oral sources from which he drew his materials.¹

Several remarkable points of variation occur in the accounts of the passion given by Matthew and Luke. Matthew relates the suicide of Judas, the dream of Pilate's wife, and informs us that at the death of Christ the vail of the temple was rent in twain, the earth did quake, the graves were opened, and many bodies of the saints which slept arose. Luke relates the examination of our Lord before Herod, the conversion of the penitent thief on the cross, and gives us that divine prayer for forgiveness: "Father, forgive them: for they know not what they do."²

Matthew and Luke also vary in their accounts of the resurrection of our Lord. Matthew relates the rolling away of the stone by an angel, the address of the angel to the women, the appearance of Jesus to them, the terror of the guard, the bribery of the soldiers to induce them to diffuse a false account of the resurrection, the appearance of Christ to the disciples in Galilee, and the great commission to make disciples of all nations. Luke relates the address of the angels to the women at the sepulchre, the appearance of Christ to the two disciples going to Emmaus and to the disciples in Jerusalem, and concludes with a reference to the ascension. In his Gospel the appearances of Christ after His resurrection are confined to Jerusalem and its neighbourhood; there is no mention of Galilee; and were it not for the accounts contained in the other Gospels, it might be inferred that all the appearances occurred on one day.

There is also a considerable difference in the chronological order in which the events are recorded.³ There is a general agreement, but a difference in detail. Thus our Lord's lamentation over Jerusalem was, according to Luke's Gospel, pronounced during the course of His ministry in

¹ It must be acknowledged that the connection discernible in the different parts of Matthew's account is in favour of the unity of the discourse as given by him. We must leave this point undetermined.

² For the different Synoptic histories of the passion, see Westcott, *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, pp. 299-304.

³ Credner's *Einleitung*, p. 169.

Galilee (Luke xiii. 34); whilst Matthew's Gospel gives it in nearly identical words as uttered at Jerusalem before He suffered (Matt. xxiii. 37).¹ The cure of the blind man at Jericho is stated by Luke as having occurred when our Lord entered Jericho (Luke xviii. 35), and by Matthew and Mark when He was leaving it (Matt. xx. 29; Mark x. 46).² The cure of the leper is represented by Matthew as having taken place before He entered into Capernaum (Matt. viii. 1, 5), whilst by Mark and Luke it is represented as having been performed after He had left that city (Mark i. 39, 40; Luke iv. 44, v. 12). It is evident that the evangelists did not confine themselves to any precise chronological order; their object was to give incidents in the life of Christ, but without any reference to the precise time of their occurrence.³

Such, then, are the conditions of the problem. There is an agreement not merely in the incidents recorded, as if a selection had been made of the numerous actions and discourses of Jesus, but frequently also in the very language employed; whilst, on the other hand, there are remarkable points of difference. The solution of the problem must meet all the facts of the case—the points of agreement as well as the points of difference; the key must be suited to the lock—the discovery of that key is the great question of present New Testament criticism.

V. SOURCES OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS.

We now come to the most perplexing and difficult division of our subject—the sources of the Synoptic Gospels.

¹ There is no improbability in supposing that the denunciation was twice uttered by our Lord.

² This apparent discrepancy in the Synoptic Gospels is afterwards fully discussed.

³ See Westcott's *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, chapter vii. The differences in arrangement of the Synoptic evangelists. "Each evangelist," he observes, "has a characteristic arrangement, coincident up to a certain point with that of the others, and yet so far different that harmonists are commonly driven to violent expedients—assumptions of the repetition or confusion of similar events—to bring all into agreement. . . . It is from the first unlikely that writings which do not aim at completeness should observe with scrupulous exactness the order of time" (pp. 323, 324).

Indeed, it is the most difficult problem in the criticism of the New Testament. The recent literature upon it, both in Germany and in our country, in special works, monographs, and periodicals, is not only extensive,¹ but confusing. Each author advances a theory of his own; and one is perplexed with their number and variety, and with the plausibility of antagonistic theories. The task of weighing the different arguments is great; and the problem is so complicated and involved that one almost despairs of a solution which would meet all the points of the case. Still some approach to a solution has been made. There are points which are now regarded by most writers on the subject as settled: although there are others still under discussion, and perhaps a full explanation is not yet attainable. Four hypotheses have been advanced to account for the points of agreement in the Synoptic Gospels: the hypothesis of mutual dependence; the hypothesis of oral tradition; the hypothesis of an original document or documents; and a variety of this last hypothesis, the so-called two document-hypothesis. Each of them is complicated by different forms of presentation; thus the theory of mutual dependence admits of no less than six variations, each of which has been supported; the hypothesis of oral tradition is complicated by the different languages in which the tradition may have been transmitted, whether Greek or Aramaic; the hypothesis of an original document or documents admits of an almost endless number of variations; and the two document-hypothesis is complicated by the different views of the nature and extent of these documents. These hypotheses are not mutually exclusive; the adoption of one does not necessarily assume the rejection of the other three. There may be an element of truth in each; indeed, the true settlement of the question may be the result of a

¹ Of recent books may be mentioned Abbott and Rushbrooke's *Common Tradition of the Synoptic Gospels*, 1884; Carpenter, *The First Three Gospels*, 1890; Badham, *The Formation of the Gospels*, 1892; Jolly, *The Synoptic Problem for English Readers*, 1893; Barnes, *Canonical and Uncanonical Gospels*, 1893; Wright, *Composition of the Four Gospels*, 1890. Besides the able articles by Dr. Sanday and Professor Marshall in the *Expositor* for 1891, and Dr. Sanday's article on the Gospels in the new edition of Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, 1893.

combination of all four. The Gospels may be mutually dependent: much of their contents may have their origin in oral tradition: some common document or documents may have been used: and there may have been one fundamental original Gospel and a collection of the sayings of our Lord which may have been the primary sources of the Synoptics. The examination of the subject requires the greatest caution, and complete freedom from preconceived opinions.

A.—THE THEORY OF MUTUAL DEPENDENCE.

The most natural solution of the problem is to suppose that the evangelists copied from each other. The similarities between them may be accounted for on the supposition that one Gospel was a compilation from the other two, and that one of the two borrowed from the other; for example, it may be supposed that Mark is an abbreviation of Matthew and Luke, and that Luke is indebted to Matthew. Thus Augustine, assuming the priority of Matthew, asserts that Mark was dependent on him. "Mark," he observes, "follows Matthew as if he were his attendant and abbreviator."¹ In his narrative he has nothing in concert with John, he has very little peculiar to himself, he has still less in concert with Luke alone; but in concert with Matthew he has a very large number of passages. He relates much in words almost identical with those used by Matthew, or by him in connection with the other Gospels."² This theory has in recent times been brought into prominence by Griesbach,³ and was formerly accepted as the true solution by many eminent critics. It was adopted and ably supported by Bleek.⁴ It has now, however, been generally abandoned, as insufficient by itself alone to account for all the difficulties of the problem.

¹ Marcus eum (Matthæum) subsecutus, tanquam pedissequus et breviator ejus videtur.

² Augustine, *Consensus evangelistarum*, i. 2.

³ *Historisch-Kritischer Versuch über die Entstehung der schriftlichen Evangelien*. The hypothesis has received the name of Griesbach's theory.

⁴ Bleek's *Introduction to the N.T.* vol. i. p. 259 ff. translation.

The three Gospels admit of six possible arrangements, each of which has been supported by different critics. 1. There is the order in the canon, Matthew, Mark, Luke. Matthew wrote first, Mark made use of his Gospel, and Luke was indebted to both.¹ This order was adopted, although on different grounds, by Bengel, Credner, Grotius, Hug, Hilgenfeld, and Hengstenberg. 2. Matthew, Luke, Mark. Mark's Gospel has been supposed to be a compilation drawn from the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, whilst Luke is supposed to have drawn from Matthew. This was the theory advanced by Griesbach, and adopted by De Wette² and Bleek. 3. Mark, Matthew, Luke. Mark has been regarded as the original Gospel, whilst Matthew is supposed to have made use of Mark, and Luke both of Mark and Matthew. The theory adopted by Ritschl, Reuss,³ Meyer, Smith of Jordanhill; and with various modifications by Ewald, Holtzmann, Weiss, and Weizsäcker. 4. Mark, Luke, Matthew. Mark has been supposed to be the original Gospel, Luke copied from him, and Matthew from both Gospels. The theory adopted by Hitzig and Volkmar.⁴ 5. Luke, Matthew, Mark. Luke has been held to be the original Gospel followed by Matthew, whilst Mark is supposed to have copied from both. This arrangement has been adopted by Evanson⁵ and Stroud.⁶ 6. Luke, Mark, Matthew. Luke has been supposed to be the original Gospel followed by Mark, whilst Matthew copied from both. The theory adopted by Vögel and Schneckenburger.

The directly opposite theory has been maintained by other critics: that the three Gospels are all independent of each other: that the Gospel of Mark, although most of its contents are contained in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, was never seen by these writers, but that the agreement is

¹ The order of the Gospels generally found in manuscripts and versions, and which would seem to presuppose the order in which they were written, gives plausibility to this theory.

² De Wette's *Einleitung in das N.T.* § 82.

³ Reuss, *History of the N.T.*, translated by Houghton.

⁴ Volkmar's *Markus*.

⁵ Evanson's *Dissonance of the Four generally received Gospels*.

⁶ Stroud, *Greek Harmony of the Gospels*, Introduction, p. lix.

to be accounted for from other causes, as the preaching of the apostles, forms of catechetical instruction, or oral tradition. This opinion is supported, though for different reasons, by Alford, Ebrard,¹ Schaff, Abbott,² and Row.³ Thus Alford observes: "There is no reason from their internal structures to believe, but every reason to disbelieve, that any one of the three evangelists had access to either of the other two Gospels in its present form."⁴ And Schaff remarks: "There is no direct evidence that any of the three Synoptists saw and used the work of the others; nor is the agreement of such a character that it may not be as easily and better explained from antecedent sources."⁵

But it is difficult to see how the resemblances in the Gospels, extending not only to incidents and discourses, but even to verbal expressions, can be accounted for on the supposition of mutual independence. If three writers had such a close resemblance in their writings as the evangelists have, we would naturally conclude that they depended upon each other. At least it is evident that there must be some common groundwork. If the evangelists did not see each others' writings, there must have been either an oral Gospel which had become stereotyped, or some common document or documents used by all of them.

The Gospel of Mark cannot be considered as a compilation from Matthew and Luke. That it is a compilation has been often asserted by those who hold the theory of mutual dependence. It was first brought forward by Augustine, and is the hypothesis advanced by Griesbach. Almost all the contents of Mark's Gospel, with a few exceptions, are to be found either in the Gospel of Matthew or in that of Luke. This theory has been ably supported by Bleek. He adduces several passages where it would appear that Mark combined the statement of ~~Mark~~ ^{Matthew} and Luke. Thus in the narrative of

¹ Ebrard, *The Gospel History*, § 120, translation, p. 554 ff.

² Abbott and Rushbrooke's *Common Tradition of the Synoptic Gospels*, p. vi.

³ Row, *The Jesus of the Evangelists*, p. 242.

⁴ Alford's *Greek Testament*, vol. i. Prolegomena, p. 12, last edition.

⁵ Schaff's *History of the Church*, vol. i. p. 598. Dr. Schaff afterwards changed his opinion; see farther on.

the miracles of Christ, Matthew states that they were performed "when even was come" (Matt. viii. 16); and Luke: "when the sun was setting" (Luke iv. 40): Mark combines the two: "at even when the sun did set" (Mark i. 32). So also in the cleansing of the leper, Matthew says: "Straightway his leprosy was cleansed" (Matt. viii. 3); Luke: "Straightway the leprosy departed from him" (Luke v. 13); Mark combines the two: "Straightway the leprosy departed from him, and he was made clean" (Mark i. 42). In the account of the Lord's entrance into Jerusalem, Matthew writes: "And when they drew nigh unto Jerusalem, and came unto Bethphage, unto the Mount of Olives" (Matt. xxi. 1); Luke: "When He drew nigh unto Bethphage and Bethany, at the mount that is called the Mount of Olives" (Luke xix. 29); Mark combines the two: "And when they drew nigh unto Jerusalem, unto Bethphage and Bethany, at the Mount of Olives" (Mark xi. 1). From those and similar examples Bleek draws the inference: "This is best explained by supposing that Mark had both Matthew and Luke before him, and used them both."¹

On the other hand, Mark has not the characteristics of a compiler or epitomiser. Although his Gospel is much shorter than the other two, and may at first glance be considered as an abbreviation, yet when it is attentively studied it is found that this cannot be the case. What Mark does narrate is recorded at greater length than by the other evangelists, and he adds a variety of particulars and little touches which are wanting in the other Gospels; so that in many of the incidents recorded by him, instead of epitomising, he enlarges. There is a peculiar freshness and originality in his descriptions. However we may account for it, Mark has more of the characteristics of an eye-witness than the other two. He descends to particulars, and describes the events as if he had actually seen them. Thus, to take a few examples: in describing the case of the demoniac boy, whom our Lord cured after His descent from the Mount of Transfiguration, Mark tells us of the scribes disputing with the disciples, of

¹ Bleek's *Introduction to the N.T.* vol. i. pp. 260-262. For a similar opinion, see Davidson, *Introduction to the N.T.* 4th ed. vol. i. pp. 481 ff.

the amazement of the people when they saw the Lord, of the conversation between the father of the boy and Christ, and of the paroxysm that seized the lad (Mark ix. 14-29). It is Mark who tells us that the amiability of the rich ruler, who came to our Lord asking what he must do to inherit eternal life, excited the love of Christ: "Jesus, beholding him, loved him" (Mark x. 21). It is Mark who tells us that when our Lord cured the deaf and dumb man, He took him aside from the multitude, put His fingers into his ears, and spit and touched his tongue; and looked up to heaven, and sighed, saying, Ephphatha (Mark vii. 33, 34). It is Mark who tells us that when the Pharisees manifested their unbelief and hostility, demanding a sign from heaven, Jesus sighed deeply in spirit, filled with indignation on account of the hardness of men's hearts (Mark viii. 12). Mark relates the incident of the young man rising from his bed and in his night clothes following Jesus, and those who apprehended him (Mark xiv. 51); and he informs us that Simon the Cyrenian, who carried the cross of Christ, was the father of Alexander and Rufus (Mark xv. 21). We have here the account of an eye-witness, recording minute particulars, imparting vivid touches to the narrative.¹ The omissions of Mark also prove that he could not have had the other Gospels before him. There are events recorded in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke which an abbreviator would not have omitted; for example, the account of the supernatural birth of Christ.

But whilst we maintain the originality of Mark, it is a much more difficult question to determine the relation of his Gospel to those of Matthew and Luke. That the relation is intimate, is undoubted; but does it extend so far as to imply that these two evangelists used the Gospel of Mark as one of their authorities? The negative has been strongly maintained by many eminent critics,² and the agreement between the Gospels has been referred entirely to oral tradition.

¹ Many other instances might be given; compare the healing of the paralytic, Mark ii. 3-12, with Matt. iv. 2-8; also the accounts of the murder of John the Baptist, and of Peter's denial. See Salmon's *Introduction to the N.T.* pp. 185-187.

² Alford, Westcott, Schaff, Plumptre.

But the resemblances are too minute, exact, striking, and numerous to be attributed to this source alone. Not only are the incidents the same, but there are long sentences where the words are almost identical. In ordinary literature, if two writings were found to agree in incident and in form of expression with a third, and if that third writing bore all the marks of originality, we would naturally infer that the authors of these two writings borrowed from the third. There is, of course, another alternative, that all three borrowed from a common document; but that document, on account of the nature and extent of the similarities, could not have rested on oral tradition, which in its nature is diversified, but must have been written. This is the third hypothesis of solution, that of a written document, which we shall afterwards consider. Besides, the order of the narrative followed in the three Gospels is a presumption in favour of the use of Mark's Gospel by Matthew and Luke. There is often a difference in the chronological order in which the events are recorded by the evangelists; but the order laid down in Mark's Gospel is that which has been generally followed. "There are," observes Professor Sanday, "a few cases where all three Gospels diverge from each other; but, as a rule, if Matthew deserts Mark, Luke agrees with him; and if Luke deserts Mark, Matthew agrees with him. There is no case in which the order of a section common to all three is supported by Matthew and Luke against Mark."¹

There are, however, various difficulties connected with the assumption that Matthew and Luke saw and made use of the Gospel of Mark. It is difficult to account for Matthew omitting certain portions of Mark's Gospel which are found in Luke, and, conversely, for Luke omitting certain portions of Mark's Gospel which are found in Matthew. A difficulty also arises from the omission, both in Matthew and Luke, of those few passages which are peculiar to Mark.² Yet although

¹ The *Expositor* for 1891, vol. iii. fourth series, p. 189.

² It has been considered as derogatory to the evangelists to suppose that they used each other's writings; that Luke, for example, should be dependent on Mark. But if he used other documents, as is admitted, why might he not also have used a canonical Gospel?

the facts of the case do not permit us to arrive at a positive conclusion, the presumption is that both Matthew and Luke saw and used the Gospel of Mark. They did not slavishly and mechanically copy from it; the language, though similar, is not precisely the same; but they made a free use of it as one of their authorities. In this manner the coincidences of all three Gospels, in incident and expression, so far as we see, can be explained.

But there are not only coincidences between all three Gospels, but also between Matthew and Luke in events and discourses not recorded by Mark. In order to account for these, can we postulate a mutual dependence between those two Gospels? This has been done by several eminent theologians. Ritschl, whilst he asserts the priority of the canonical Mark, further maintains the dependence of Luke upon Matthew.¹ This view has also been maintained, though on different grounds, by Holtzmann, Weiszäcker,² Wendt, and Paul Ewald.³ It is essential to this theory to suppose that the use which Luke made of Matthew's Gospel was not slavish, but very free and untrammelled. Now, if this opinion is correct, we certainly have a remarkable approach to the solution of the problem. The points of agreement in the Gospels are thus, in a measure, all accounted for. The coincidences between the three Synoptists arise from the use of Mark as a fundamental Gospel; and the coincidences between Matthew and Luke from the use of the Gospel of Matthew by Luke.

But there are great, and probably insuperable, objections to the adoption of this hypothesis. Whilst it may account for the points of correspondence, it does not account for the points of difference in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. The diversities in the narrative prove that the one Gospel must have been independent of the other. Take, for example, the variations in the genealogies of Christ as given by Matthew and Luke. "If no other proof," observes Dean Alford, "were in existence of the total independence of the present Gospels

¹ *Godet's Commentary on Luke's Gospel*, vol. i. p. 41, translation.

² *Apostolisches Zeitalter*, p. 414.

³ *Evangelienfrage*, p. 169.

of Matthew and Luke, their genealogies would furnish what I conceive to be an undeniable one. Is it possible that either of these evangelists could have set down his genealogy with that of the other before^{him} ~~hand~~? Would no remark have been made on their many, and on such a supposition unaccountable, variations?" The same is the case with the variations in the narratives of the birth, the passion, and resurrection of Christ. If these Gospels were mutually dependent, there would certainly have been a greater agreement. So also in Matthew, in the "Sermon on the Mount," there is a collection of the sayings of Jesus; whilst in Luke the same sayings are scattered throughout his Gospel. If Luke used Matthew's Gospel, we can hardly think that he would have cut up that wonderful discourse into different portions. These facts convince us that the Gospel of Matthew was not one of those documents which Luke employed in the composition of his Gospel.¹

B.—THE THEORY OF AN ORAL GOSPEL.

According to this theory, the oral teaching of the apostles and the oral traditions of the actions and discourses of our Lord are the main sources of the Synoptic Gospels. This theory has been denominated the hypothesis of Gieseler, because that eminent theologian was the first who brought it into prominence. He supposes that without any preconceived plan an oral Gospel gradually resulted from the preaching of the apostles in Jerusalem; and that from this oral Gospel the three Synoptic Gospels were composed about the middle of the first century.² This view, with different variations, has been adopted by Neudecker, Guericke, Thiersch, Lange, and Ebrard in Germany; by Archbishop Thomson,³ Alford,

¹ So Meyer, Reuss, Thiersch, and Weiss. The results of our examination of the hypothesis of mutual dependence are: 1. Mark is an original Gospel. 2. In all probability, though not certainly, Matthew and Luke make use of the Gospel of Mark as one of their sources. 3. Matthew and Luke wrote independently of each other.

² Gieseler's *Hist.-krit. Versuch über die Entstehung und die frühesten Schicksale der schriftlichen Evangelien*.

³ In his introduction to the Gospels in the *Speaker's Commentary*, and in the article on the Gospels in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*.

Westcott, Plumptre, Lumby, and Farrar¹ in England; by Godet² in Switzerland; and by Norton³ and Schaff in America. Thus Bishop Westcott observes: "The primary Gospel was proved in life, before it was fixed in writing. Out of the countless multitude of Christ's acts, those were gathered in the ministry of twenty years, which were seen to have the fullest representative significance for the exhibition of His divine life. The oral collection thus formed became in every sense coincident with the 'Gospel'; and our Gospels are the permanent compendium of its contents."⁴ So also Schaff remarks: "The chief and common sources from which the Synoptists derived their Gospels was undoubtedly the living apostolic traditions or teaching. This teaching was nothing more or less than a faithful report of the words and deeds of Christ Himself by honest and intelligent eye-witnesses."⁵

The great office of an apostle was to narrate the history of the life and death of Christ. Thus, on the election of a successor to Judas Iscariot, the apostles resolved that, "of the men who have companied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and went out among us, beginning from the baptism of John unto the day when He was received up from us, of these must one become a witness with us of His

¹ Farrar's *Messages of the Books*, p. 26.

² Godet's *Commentary on Luke's Gospel*, vol. i. pp. 33 ff.

³ Norton, *The Genuineness of the Gospels*, pp. 284-289.

⁴ Westcott, *Introduction to the Gospels*, p. 158, 1st edition.

⁵ Schaff's *History of the Church*, vol. i. p. 602. Dr. Schaff appears lately to have modified his opinions. In a private letter to the author, written shortly before his death, he says: "I am pretty certain that there must have been various fragmentary Gospels before the canonical Gospels, as is evident from the preface to Luke; I am also convinced that the tradition of Papias concerning an original Hebrew Matthew is well founded, and it would be a great help to critics if this Hebrew Matthew could be discovered, which is by no means impossible in view of recent experience in this age of discovery. I am also settled in my mind as to the originality and priority of Mark, who has so many pictorial traits, which can only be explained by a personal eye-witness-ship. He was the interpreter of Peter, and in his rapid movements reflects the sanguine impulsive temperament of his master. I have no settled opinion as to how far Matthew and Luke have used the Hebrew 'Logia,' but Matthew and Luke are certainly independent of each other."

resurrection" (Acts i. 21, 22). The apostles, in their discourses to the people, and especially in the instructions given to their converts, would dwell upon the actions and teaching of their Master,—the miracles He performed, the parables with which He taught the multitude, His divine utterances and discourses. By degrees this teaching would become to a considerable extent stereotyped: the same incidents would be dwelt upon, the same discourses repeated, especially the most striking parables and the most weighty sayings, and thus gradually an oral Gospel would be formed.

But with this similarity there would coexist a considerable diversity. There would be different centres of tradition in Galilee and in Jerusalem, and these local traditions would necessarily vary. The oral Gospel in Galilee would be different from the oral Gospel in Jerusalem; and thus different collections of traditions might be made. When the Gospel extended beyond the boundaries of Judæa into Samaria, Phœnicia, and the neighbouring provinces, the preachers would carry with them a variety of traditions; one uniform Gospel would not be promulgated. This theory of oral tradition, admitting both of a general uniformity and of variations, is supposed to account both for the ^{conv. & diff. in} consistencies and the diversities in the Synoptists. "In the oral narratives of the apostles," observes Norton, "we find the common archetype of the first three Gospels,—an archetype, from its very nature, partly fixed and partly fluctuating, and such, therefore, as is required to account at once for their coincidence and their diversity."¹

The Rev. A. Wright of Queens' College, Cambridge, in a valuable contribution to the literature of the Synoptic Gospels, lays great stress on this theory of an oral Gospel. He supposes that among the early Christians, catechetical schools were established in which the converts to Christianity were instructed in the life of Christ. We are informed that those baptized on the day of Pentecost continued steadfastly in the apostles' teaching (Acts ii. 42). This teaching (*διδάχη*) would consist chiefly in imparting oral instruction in the life

¹ Norton, *The Genuineness of the Gospels*, p. 289.

and discourses of Christ; in short, in matters resembling in substance and form the contents of our canonical Gospels. So also Luke, in dedicating his Gospel to Theophilus, says that he wrote that he might know the certainty of the things wherein he was instructed, literally, *catechised* (κατηχήθης).¹ These schools were established in all places where the Christian religion was planted, in Asia Minor as well as in Palestine. Over these schools qualified teachers would be appointed, men who were instructed by the apostles or primitive disciples of Christ in the events of His life; some of them, as Mark, belonging to the Petrine school, and others, as Luke, belonging to the Pauline school. These instructions were at first given in an oral form, and it was not until the removal of the apostles from Jerusalem that the necessity for a written Gospel was felt. According to Mr. Wright, there were six sources from which the Gospels sprung—1. The Petrine teaching, contained chiefly in St. Mark's Gospel, and found also in Matthew and Luke, being an oral Gospel. 2. "The utterances of our Lord," mentioned by Papias as the Logia of Matthew, also orally communicated, embedded in Matthew's Gospel, and found also in Luke. 3. The peculiarities of Luke's Gospel, being an oral Gospel, the work of an unknown pupil of Paul, and collected by Luke. 4. Fragments of an oral Gospel outside of these, as the two introductory chapters in Matthew, and a few sections in Luke's Gospel. 5. Written documents collected by Luke, as the first two chapters and the genealogy. 6. Editorial notes written by the writers of these Gospels.²

This theory of oral tradition has much to commend it. The ultimate sources of the Gospels, before anything was committed to writing, must have been the oral teaching of the apostles and primitive disciples. There must have been an oral before there was a written Gospel. The oral element is an important factor in the formation of our Gospels which must not be overlooked. It must enter largely into any

¹ Mr. Wright puts special weight on Gal. vi. 6, where the verb κατηχέω is employed.

² Wright's *Composition of the Four Gospels*, London, 1893; also article in the *Thinker* for February 1895.

theory which professes to be a solution of the Synoptic problem.¹

But this theory by itself is inadequate to account for all the coincidences and diversities of the narrative. There are at least three objections to it. 1. It cannot account for the similarity or agreement which pervades the Gospels. If the Gospels arose from oral tradition, we should not have expected so great an identity of particulars in a life so full as that of Christ. Nor is this agreement confined to events, but extends to expressions and words. Tradition does not express itself in the same terms; even in the description of the same event by eye-witnesses, there is always a variety in the expressions employed. It has indeed been said that there might be set phrases and current expressions; but not to speak of the mechanical formation of the Gospels which such a view involves, and which is opposed to freedom of composition, the agreement which pervades the Gospel is of such a minute nature as cannot be accounted for by tradition. "It extends," as Professor Sanday observes, "to phrases which are mere connecting links between the sections, and which are just of a kind that on a purely oral tradition would be the first to vary."² 2. It is difficult to suppose that in a general oral Gospel which dwelt on the actions and discourses of Jesus, the account of the ministry in Jerusalem, as given in the Johannine narrative, would be entirely absent. The ministry of our Lord in Judæa would have occupied in an oral tradition, if not so large a space as the ministry in Galilee, owing to the shorter period of time which it embraced, yet a proportionate space. 3. The specimens of the teaching of the apostles which we have in the Acts do not bear out the supposition that their teaching consisted almost entirely in the narratives of Christ's life or in the repetition of His parables and discourses. In the discourses of Peter, Stephen, and Paul, as recorded in the Acts, we find that these preachers dwelt almost entirely on the advent of Christ, on His sufferings and death, and

¹ "At bottom all the Gospels rest on oral tradition or anecdotal reminiscences." Holtzmann, *Einleitung*, p. 340.

² Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, 2nd ed. p. 1220.

especially on the crowning miracle of His resurrection, as the authorisation of His mission, without mentioning the particulars of His life. And the same remark is true of the Epistles of the several writers: there are in them few traditionary sayings of our Lord. The record of the life of Christ gathered from the speeches and Epistles of the apostles is surprisingly meagre.

An important modification of this theory was made by Dean Alford, which lessens, if it does not remove, many of the objections brought against it. He supposed that besides the mere oral Gospel, which had in a measure become stereotyped, there were also written statements embracing both the incidents in the life of Christ and His teaching, and that these were independently used by the evangelists, and, it may be, incorporated in their Gospels. "I maintain," he observes, "the probability of a very early collection of portions of such oral teaching into documents, some of which two or three of the evangelists may have used."¹ This combination of traditional narratives with written documents would account for the identity of the expressions frequently used by the evangelists.

C.—THE THEORY OF AN ORIGINAL DOCUMENT OR DOCUMENTS.

According to this theory, there lies at the foundation of the Gospels an original document or documents, which all the three evangelists made use of in the composition of their writings; the source of the Synoptic Gospels is not so much oral tradition as written documents. We learn from the prologue to Luke's Gospel that many such writings, purporting to convey a narrative of the life of Christ, or giving a collection of His discourses, did exist in the early days of Christianity (Luke i. 1-3). Luke does not pass any approval or disapproval of such documents, he merely testifies to their existence. This theory of an original document or documents is the prevalent theory in the present day, and has given rise to a great number of suppositions.

Eichhorn, at the close of last century (1794), was the

¹ Alford's *Greek Testament*, vol. i. Prolegomena, p. 11.

first to give prominence to this theory.¹ He gave great offence by the boldness of his criticism, coming into direct collision with the then traditional view of the Gospels as independent narratives. At the time the work was regarded as a direct attack on the genuineness and credibility of the Gospels.² He supposed that there was an original Aramaic Gospel, which lay at the foundation of the Synoptic Gospels. This document was soon translated into Greek. In process of time additions were made to it and inserted in the narrative. There were three translations and three sets of traditions, and these constituted the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. In addition to this original Aramaic Gospel there was another document containing a collection of precepts, parables, and discourses delivered by Christ, which was used by Matthew and Luke, and accounts for the similarities in their Gospels.³

Bishop Marsh adopted this theory of Eichhorn, and endeavoured to improve it. He gives the following statement of his theory: "Matthew, Mark, and Luke used copies of the common Hebrew document, the materials of which Matthew, who wrote in Hebrew, retained in the language in which he found them; but Mark and Luke, besides their copies of the Hebrew document, used a Greek translation of it, which had been made before any additions had been inserted. Lastly, as the Gospels of Mark and Luke contain Greek translations of Hebrew materials which were incorporated into Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, the person, who translated Matthew's Hebrew Gospel into Greek, frequently derived assistance from the Gospel of Mark, where Mark had matter in common with Matthew; and in those places, but in those places only, where Mark had no matter in common with Matthew, he had frequently recourse to Luke's Gospel."⁴

¹ Eichhorn's *Einleitung in das N.T.* vol. i. §§ 78-88. Le Clerc (1716) appears to have been the first critic who suggested it; afterwards it was maintained by Michaelis and Lessing, but it was left to Eichhorn to develop this hypothesis, and to draw it out into a regular theory.

² There was certainly some reason for this opinion, as Eichhorn considers that our first three Gospels did not come into use before the end of the second century.

³ Eichhorn's *Einleitung*, § 84.

⁴ Marsh's *Michaelis*, vol. v. p. 361.

This hypothesis does not commend itself; it is intricate and complicated. Besides, it is very mechanical, and makes the evangelists mere compilers. Although at the time embraced by several eminent critics,¹ it is now as a whole generally rejected, though many of its particulars are still adopted; indeed there is often a striking resemblance between it and some of the more recent hypotheses.

Much more plausible is the theory of Schleiermacher.² Instead of one original Hebrew document lying at the foundation of the several Gospels, he supposes that there were several documents. There must have been, at an early period, many evangelical fragments dispersed throughout the Churches,—traditions floating about,—of which writings had been made. These the evangelists worked into their Gospels, along with materials which each had himself collected; and in this manner Schleiermacher accounts for the coincidences and differences. “Why,” he asks, “should the harmony of the three evangelists admit of no other explanation than that they either borrowed from each other, or drew from one common source. Subsequently, at all events, there appear several common sources. Why should we not content ourselves with a plurality of them from the beginning, as some eminent critics have done? For, in itself, surely this often-repeated alternation of common and peculiar portions of history points to nothing else than the previous existence of several sources, some of which the evangelists had in common, some not.”³

Heinrich Ewald supposes that there were nine distinct elements which entered into the formation of the Synoptics. The first was an original Gospel, containing a brief account of the chief events of Christ’s life from His baptism to His death, used by Paul, and which he strangely attributes to

¹ Especially by Bertholdt of Erlangen in his *Historisch-Kritische Einleitung in sämtliche kanonische und apokryphische Schriften des alten und neuen Testaments*.

² See Schleiermacher, *Commentary on St. Luke*, and a valuable introduction to it by the translator, Bishop Thirlwall.

³ *Ibid.* p. 7. “It is more natural,” he observes, “to imagine many circumstantial memorials of detached incidents, than a single connected but scanty narrative.”

Philip the deacon. The second is the collection of our Lord's sayings made by Matthew, as mentioned by Papias. The third is Mark's Gospel, made up of these two. The fourth is what he calls "the book of the higher history," being an enlargement of the original Gospel. The fifth is our canonical Gospel of Matthew, based upon the preceding writings. The sixth, seventh, and eighth are three lost works—detailed accounts of special events in our Lord's life. The ninth is the Gospel of Luke, based on all the other documents, with the exception of the fifth document, namely, the Gospel of Matthew.¹ Such a theory, though ingenious, is very fanciful, and without much ground to rest upon.

Dr. Edwin Abbott has brought forward a new theory. He marks all those passages where Matthew, Mark, and Luke agree, which he calls the common or triple tradition.² This tradition constitutes a kind of narrative; and this he supposes to have formed the original Gospel, from which the three evangelists borrowed independently of each other. "Is it not possible," he observes, "that the condensed narrative which we can pick out of the three Synoptic records represents the 'elliptical style' of the earliest Gospel notes or Memoirs, which needed to be expanded before they could be used for the purposes of teaching, and which might naturally be expanded with various and sometimes divergent amplification?"³ According to this theory, the Gospels are independent expansions of notes taken down of the teachings of the apostles. Such a hypothesis has met with no favour from any critic.⁴ It does not account for the twofold tradition of Matthew and Mark, of Mark and Luke, and of Matthew and Luke; whilst it leaves the diversities found in the Gospels without explanation.

There is one other theory which, on account of its ingenuity, plausibility, and originality we would not omit,

¹ Bleek's *Introduction to N.T.* vol. ii. pp. 256, 257.

² Article on the Gospels in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; Abbott and Rushbrooke, *Common Tradition of the Synoptic Gospels*.

³ Abbott and Rushbrooke, p. 11.

⁴ For adverse remarks on the hypothesis of Dr. Abbott, see Salmon, *Introduction to the N.T.* p. 177. It is in its main features a revival of the hypothesis of Eichhorn.

that of Mr. Smith of Jordanhill.¹ He supposes—(1) That several of the apostles, especially Matthew, Peter, and John, committed to writing accounts of our Lord's life, in the Aramaic language. (2) That Matthew drew up, from the original Memoirs a life of Christ, both in Hebrew and in Greek. (3) That Luke composed another life, founded upon the authority of eye-witnesses and ministers of the word, including the Hebrew Memoir of Peter and the Greek Gospel of Matthew. (4) That after Peter's death, Mark translated the Memoir written by Peter into Greek.² This hypothesis he illustrates in a most ingenious manner. He takes three histories of the Peninsular War—those of Suchet, Napier, and Alison. Suchet's history was the testimony of an eye-witness, and was translated into English, and used both by Napier and Alison; whilst Napier's history was known and made use of by Alison. He places three quotations from their histories in parallel columns, showing the remarkable resemblance between them—a resemblance containing sometimes a sameness of expression in all three, and at other times extending only to two of the histories.³ He draws a parallel between these resemblances and the resemblances in the three Gospels, and in this manner explains their verbal coincidences. Certainly the parallel is very striking in these histories; there is the same mixture of variety and identity of expression as is found in the Gospels.

Recently much has been made of the theory of an original Aramaic or Hebrew document lying at the root of the Synoptic Gospels. This theory has been unfolded in several interesting and valuable articles by Professor Marshall in the *Expositor*,⁴ and especially by Resch in his work, entitled, *The Agrapha*.⁵ It is in some respects a revival of Eichhorn's

¹ *Dissertation on the Origin and Connection of the Gospels*; the author of that classical work, *The Voyage of St. Paul*.

² *Ibid.* p. xxv.

³ *Ibid.* pp. xxix.—xxx.

⁴ These articles are to be found in the *Expositor* for the year 1891.

⁵ This is a work of enormous labour and erudition, the result of upwards of twenty years' research. It proceeds on the assumptions that there was an original Gospel in the Hebrew language, that this was chiefly composed of the sayings of our Lord, and that it not only formed one of the main sources of our Synoptics, but was used by Paul and quoted by him.

theory, though not so mechanical and rigid in its nature. These writers suppose that there was an original document, an Ur-Evangelium, written according to Professor Marshall in Aramaic, and according to Resch in Hebrew. This document was used by all the evangelists. The variation in the words and clauses in the Gospels is accounted for by the different translations given to the Aramaic or Hebrew words. Both Professor Marshall and Resch give examples of how this may be done, and, if the vowel points are neglected as not belonging originally to the languages, how variations in the sense might easily have occurred. Resch gives a list of fifty-nine cases in point, where, as he supposes, Hebrew words in the original document are translated by different words in our Gospels.¹

This theory, if admitted, certainly accounts in many instances for variations in expression; but, when put to the test, it leaves most of these variations unexplained. It is, indeed, asserted by the Fathers that Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew;² but the Gospel, to which these critics allude, is an entirely different Gospel from our canonical Matthew: it is an Aramaic Gospel which lies at the foundation, not of Matthew only, but of all the three Synoptics.

D.—THE TWO DOCUMENT THEORY.

According to this theory, not one but two documents form the main sources of the Gospel narrative. One document is a narrative of the events in the life of Christ—a statement of His actions, and the other is a collection of His sayings—a statement of His discourses. This hypothesis, it is supposed, affords a complete solution of the Synoptic problem. "The narrative of events" accounts for the great sameness of the incidents recorded by all three evangelists;

¹ Resch's *Agrapha*, pp. 59-64; as, for example, סִפְּרָא is rendered by λαμβάνειν (Matt. x. 38), αἶψιν (Mark viii. 34), βαστάζειν (Luke xiv. 27), in the same address of our Lord to His disciples that they must take up His cross.

² The language in which Matthew's Gospel was written is the subject of future discussion; so also is the "Gospel according to the Hebrews."

whilst "the collection of sayings" accounts for the striking resemblance in the expressions employed. But although this hypothesis is apparently simple, it is in reality highly complicated, and has given rise to great differences of opinion and to several distinct theories.

This hypothesis is supposed to be supported by the statement of Papias,¹ where, according to those critics who adopt this theory, these two documents are mentioned. Papias first affirms of Mark's Gospel, on the authority of John the Presbyter, that "Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately, though not in order, whatever he remembered of the things said and done by Christ, and that he followed Peter, who adapted his teaching to the needs of his hearers, but with no intention of giving a connected account of our Lord's discourses." In this record, containing the preaching of Peter, edited by Mark, we have one of these fundamental documents, whether this be the canonical Gospel of Mark or a previous Gospel (Ur-Marcus), from which our canonical Mark is derived.² Concerning Matthew, Papias— writes: "So then Matthew wrote the oracles (λόγια) in the Hebrew language."³ In this collection of the λόγια of Christ made by Matthew we have the other primary document—whether this is the canonical Gospel of Matthew or a primary Gospel (Ur-Matthæus) used by some unknown person in the composition of our Matthew, and also used by Luke in the composition of his Gospel.

This hypothesis of two documents has been adopted by Reuss,⁴ Weizsäcker,⁵ Holtzmann, Weiss, Wendt, Beyschlag,⁶

¹ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 39 ; see *supra*, p. 19.

² Dr. Sanday remarks: "It is not improbable that our St. Mark is descended from a copy which did not exactly reproduce its predecessor, even after the Gospel had assumed substantially its present form." *Bampton Lectures*, p. 295.

³ The words *μετ' οὗν*, *so then*, show that this sentence in regard to Matthew does not immediately follow the passage in regard to Mark, quoted above.

⁴ *History of the New Testament*.

⁵ *Apost. Zeitalter und Untersuchungen über die evangelische Geschichte, ihre Quellen und der Gang ihrer Entwicklung*.

⁶ *Leben Jesu*.

Resch, Dr. Paul Ewald, Pfeiderer,¹ Sanday, and other recent writers on the Synoptic problem. "All things considered," observes Holtzmann, "the two source hypothesis appears the most probable solution of the Synoptic problem."

Dr. H. Holtzmann of Strasburg, who is regarded as the great authority on the Synoptic question, and has devoted much attention to the subject, supposes that these two documents—the record of the preaching of Peter given by Mark, and the Logia, or the collection of the sayings of our Lord compiled by Matthew—were the main sources of the Synoptic Gospels. He supposes the first document to be, not the canonical Gospel of Mark, but an earlier document (Ur-Marcus), fuller than the present Mark; and the second document to be, not the canonical Gospel of Matthew, but a collection of the discourses of Christ compiled by the Apostle Matthew (Ur-Matthæus). The canonical Mark is a revision of the Ur-Marcus, without any intermixture of the Logia of Matthew; whilst the canonical Matthew and Luke are formed from both documents, and from other written and oral sources. Recently Professor Holtzmann has somewhat modified and altered his views, and supposes that Luke had access to the canonical Gospel of Matthew, and made a free use of it, and, consequently, that all the discourses in Luke's Gospel need not necessarily be referred to the Logia; and he observes: "So that at least most of the reasons for distinguishing between an Ur-Marcus and the present Mark have been removed."²

The view of Weiss of Berlin differs from that of Holtzmann as to the prominence to be given to Matthew. He supposes that Mark not only used the "notes of Peter's preaching," but had also access to the Logia collected by Matthew. According to him, "the Logia of Matthew" is the oldest Gospel, and next to it is the Petrine Gospel, or the tradition transmitted by Mark from Peter's preaching. All three Gospels are composite, and these documents were used in

¹ *Gifford Lectures*, vol. ii. p. 27.

² For Holtzman's views, see *Die Synoptischen Evangelien*, 1863; *Einleitung in das N.T.* 1885; commentary on the Synoptic Gospels, *Die Synoptiker*, 1889.

different proportions. The original Gospel was a Matthew (Ur-Matthæus), containing the Logia, with a small number of incidents. The canonical Mark is a combination of the Memoirs of Peter and a portion of the Logia of Matthew: the canonical Matthew and the canonical Luke are dependent on Mark and on the Logia.¹

Wendt, of Heidelberg, also adopts the two document hypothesis. He asserts the priority of Mark to Matthew and Luke, and supposes that the series of narratives reported by Mark consists chiefly of the oral evangelical discourses of Peter. Both Matthew and Luke used Mark's Gospel. The Logia of Matthew lies at the foundation of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, and Wendt attempts the reconstruction of the text of the Logia from these Gospels. He restricts the Logia to the discourses of Jesus.²

Resch, in his *Agrapha*, maintains the following points:—
1. The priority of the Gospel of Mark. 2. The existence of a Hebrew original Gospel containing chiefly the discourses of Jesus, written before the canonical writings, and lost at an early period. 3. The two document hypothesis. From these two documents—the Gospel of Mark and the pre-canonical Gospel—the first and third canonical Gospels were chiefly composed. 4. The secondary character of the first Gospel. The Gospel of Matthew is in no sense an original Gospel, also not a translation of the original Hebrew Gospel ascribed to that apostle, but a combination of Mark's Gospel with a Hebrew Gospel source, and that by an author who personally was not an eye-witness, but was in a position to add several traditionary facts to the two chief sources. 5. The use of the pre-canonical Gospel of Mark.³

Dr. Sanday of Oxford, in a series of valuable articles in the *Expositor*,⁴ and in his elaborate article on the Gospels in the new edition of Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, gives what is the present state of the Synoptic problem. He himself adopts, or, at least, greatly favours, the two document hypo-

¹ For Weiss' views, see *Das Marcus Evangelium und seine Synoptischen Parallelen, Leben Jesu*, and *Einführung in das N.T.*

² Wendt's *Die Lehre Jesu*.

³ Resch's *Agrapha*, p. 27.

⁴ *Expositor* for the year 1891, fourth series, vol. iii.

thesis. He considers the following particulars as practically proved:—1. That there was a fundamental document. 2. That it is represented most nearly by the Gospel of Mark. 3. That it is highly probable that the common foundation of the three Gospels was a document, strictly so called, written, and not oral. 4. That the exact relation of this document to our present Mark must be regarded as still an open question.¹ With regard to the second document, or the Logia of Matthew, Dr. Sanday thinks that it was chiefly restricted to the sayings of Christ, and that these sayings or discourses were employed in the first and third Gospels. He considers that the Apostle Matthew did not write the first Gospel as we have it, but that it was called by his name, because it contained the Logia collected by him, a section so important that the name passed from that to the whole.²

One great point of dispute regards the meaning to be affixed to the term *λόγια* as used by Papias when referring to the writings of Matthew,—whether it is to be restricted to the sayings and discourses of Jesus, or whether it also includes the incidents of His life. The critics above mentioned, as Holtzmann and also Meyer, restrict the term chiefly to the sayings of Jesus; whilst other critics, as Bleek and Zahn, assert that it was not so restricted, but included the whole life of Jesus—His actions as well as His discourses. This opinion has also been maintained by Bishop Lightfoot.³ The term in the New Testament is used for the Scriptures (of course, of the Old Testament), and is not restricted to mere sayings. Thus Paul, speaking of the privileges of the Jews, says that unto them were committed “the oracles of God” (*τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ*, Rom. iii. 2).⁴ And the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews refers to “the first principles of the oracles of God” (Heb. v. 12). In both passages the reference is to the Scriptures of the Old Testament.⁵ The word, then, as applied

¹ *Expositor*, vol. iii. fourth series, p. 180.

² *Ibid.* p. 303.

³ *Essays on Supernatural Religion*, pp. 173, 174.

⁴ See Philippi, *Commentary on the Romans*, vol. i. p. 105, translation.

⁵ The word occurs only in two other passages in the New Testament, and there also the reference appears to be to the Scriptures of the Old Testament, Acts vii. 38 and 1 Pet. iv. 11.

to the New Testament, would be nearly equivalent to *εὐαγγέλιον*; and in this sense it is used by the early Fathers.¹ "There is nothing," observes Bleek, "in the manner in which Papias expresses himself to justify this supposition (namely, that the expression simply refers to a writing wherein Christ's discourses only were collected); he would certainly have expressed himself as he does, if he meant an historical work like our New Testament Gospels, if he were referring to a writing the contents of which were those of our Greek Gospel according to Matthew. Papias uses the name *τὰ λόγια* of the entire Gospel, without making any distinction between the historical narrative and the discourses of Christ."²

Some progress in the solution of the Synoptic problem has been made. It is now generally agreed by those critics who have studied the question, that the Gospel of Mark, or a writing closely resembling it, and a collection or collections of the sayings of Jesus, are among the main sources of the Synoptic Gospels. A theory which embraces these two points, forming a modification of the two document hypothesis, is now regarded as the probable solution of the Synoptic problem.

1. The canonical Gospel of Mark, or at least a document closely resembling it, is supposed to be the primitive or original Gospel—one of the main sources of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke—used by them either directly or indirectly. For reasons already stated, we inferred the probability that the first and third evangelists were cognisant of the writing of the second. In order to remove certain difficulties, to which we have already alluded, attending the assumption of the use of Mark's Gospel by Matthew and Luke, some critics affirm that not our canonical Mark, but an original Mark, an Ur-Marcus, of which our Mark is a recension, containing a narrative of our Lord's life, is the common foundation of the three Synoptics.³ Some suppose that the original Mark was of larger compass than the present Mark, and embraced those

¹ Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* i. 8. 1; Polycarp, *Phil.* 7.

² Bleek's *Introduction to the N.T.* vol. ii. pp. 109, 110.

³ This opinion has been adopted by Köstlin, Volkmar, Weizsäcker; and was at one time advocated by Holtzmann, though afterwards abandoned by him.

sections in which Matthew and Luke agree almost verbatim. Others think that it was shorter. Those who do so, argue that the statement of Papias, that Mark wrote down accurately though not in order (*οὐ μέντοι τάξει*), that is, not consecutively, is only suitable to a shorter Gospel than that which we now possess, inasmuch as the canonical Gospel of Mark is generally considered the most systematic of the three Synoptics.

But, so far as we can see, there exists no reason for this supposition. The Fathers mention no such previous Gospel. They speak of the Gospel of Mark, but never indicate that this was only an edition or recension of a former Gospel now lost. Papias distinctly asserts that Mark wrote his Gospel from the teaching of Peter; and Irenæus affirms that the second Gospel was written by Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter. The substitution of the canonical Gospel of Mark for a lost Gospel must have occurred either before Papias wrote (A.D. 116) or between the time of Papias and Irenæus (A.D. 180). It could not have occurred before the time of Papias, for there is not the least indication given by him of a previous Gospel, and the time between the composition of the Gospel of Mark and Papias is too short to admit of a silent, unnoticed substitution of one Gospel for another. Still more incredible is it to suppose that it disappeared after Papias wrote and before Irenæus composed his work against heresies; for we have an almost unbroken chain of testimony between these two periods, alluding to the Gospel of Mark; so that the Gospel mentioned by Papias could not possibly have been superseded by a different Gospel, without some statement or intimation of this fact in the writings of the early Fathers.¹ We conclude, then, that our canonical Gospel of Mark, as we have it, is the primitive Gospel which the other two evangelists saw and used, and which was one of the chief sources of their Gospels.² The use of this Gospel by Matthew and Luke

¹ This argument against the existence of an Ur-Marcus is well put by Barnes in his *Canonical and Uncanonical Gospels*, p. 68.

² This opinion is now adopted by most critics. "The testimony of Papias," observes Meyer, "regarding the work of Mark furnishes no reason for regarding this work as different from our second canonical Gospel." *Commentary on Matthew*, vol. i. p. 38, translation.

accounts for the similarity of incidents in the three Gospels, and also of expressions where all three agree, and where Matthew and Mark, or Mark and Luke agree.

2. The collection or collections of the sayings of Christ, partly oral and partly written, was the other main source of the Synoptic Gospels. It was most natural, indeed inevitable, that the apostles and early Christians would treasure up the sayings of Christ. These sayings would be often repeated by them in their public assemblies, and become indelibly fixed in their memories, and would soon be reduced to writing. The shorter sayings, as that quoted by Paul, "It is more blessed to give than to receive" (Acts xx. 35), would be retained in the memory; but there would also be written collections of the longer sayings or discourses of our Lord which would be taken down at an early period, before the recollection of them had faded away. We cannot suppose that twenty or thirty years would have elapsed before there were any written documents containing the parables of our Lord, or the words with which He taught the multitudes. "A few detached aphorisms," observes Professor Salmon, "of a great teacher may be carried by the memory for some time, and be passed from one to another; but discourses of the length we find in the Gospels would, in the ordinary course of things, have perished, if they had not been from the first either committed to writing or, if committed to memory, kept alive by constant repetition. It is surprising how little of spoken words ordinary memories are able to retain. . . . If Boswell has been able to give a vivid representation of Dr. Johnson's Table-Talk, it is because he used to stand behind the chair of the object of his veneration with note-book in hand."¹

Different collections of these sayings would be made in different localities for the use of different Churches. Some would be written in Aramaic for the use of the Hebrew converts, and some in Greek for the use of the Hellenistic converts. Such collections of the sayings of Christ, both oral and written, both in Aramaic and in Greek, would be used by all three evangelists in the composition of their Gospels.

¹ *Introduction to the New Testament*, p. 137.

This hypothesis accounts for the similarity, often amounting to identity of expression, found not only in all the three Gospels, but especially in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. Thus, for example, the thanksgiving of our Lord to the Father, when the disciples recorded the success of their mission, found in almost identical words in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke (Matt. xi. 25–27; Luke x. 21, 22), is one of those sayings of Christ which these evangelists incorporated in their Gospels. We have already seen that the identity of expression occurs chiefly in the sayings or discourses of Christ. It has been objected that no such collections of sayings are mentioned by the early Fathers. But their existence was inevitable; the early Christians would feel constrained to collect the words of the Lord, and their incorporation into our Gospels may account for their disappearance. Besides, we do not suppose that there was any single authorised document containing the sayings of Christ, but only that fragmentary writings or detached narratives were dispersed throughout the Churches. We do not consider that the Logia of Matthew, mentioned by Papias, was one of these collections of sayings, because, as we have already observed, the term *λόγια* there employed is not used in a restricted sense; but, at the same time, it must be admitted that the Gospel of Matthew is remarkable among the other three Gospels for its collections of the sayings of Christ.

We do not know whether these collections of the sayings of Christ entirely disappeared in the apostolic age in consequence of their incorporation in the written Gospels. A collection of sayings attributed to our Lord, not recorded in the Gospels, but dispersed through the writings of the early Fathers, and preserved in the apocryphal writings, has been made by Bishop Westcott.¹ Wendt, in a valuable appendix to his *Die Lehre Jesu*, adverts to several indications of the words of Jesus in the Epistles of Paul; for example, he adduces the command of the Lord, that the wife should not depart from her husband (1 Cor. vii. 10); the injunction of the Lord, that they which preach the gospel should live of the

¹ Westcott's *Introduction to the Study of the Gospel*, 1st ed. Appendix C, pp. 424–438.

gospel (1 Cor. ix. 14); the institution of the Lord's Supper (1 Cor. xi. 23-25); and the announcement of the second coming of the Lord, which Paul introduces with the words: "This I say unto you by a word of the Lord" (1 Thess. iv. 15). Resch in his great work, the *Agrapha*, supposes that "sayings of Christ," contained, as he thinks, in the Logia of Matthew, written in the Hebrew language, are to be found in the Epistles of Paul and other canonical writings, as well as in the writings of the Fathers. He gives a list of sixty-two Logia found in the canonical Epistles and in the writings of the Fathers, which he considers to have been the words of Christ—Agrapha not contained in the Gospels.¹

We shall, when we come to the investigation of the three Synoptic Gospels separately, consider at length the sources from which each Gospel is derived; but it may be advisable before we close this discussion to advert to these sources in a general manner.

Many suppose that the Gospel of Matthew is a compilation, and that Matthew's name is attached to it because he wrote a section so important that his name passed from that to the whole; an opinion which we shall afterwards consider. The sources of Matthew's Gospel, according to our hypothesis, are the Gospel of Mark, the sayings or discourses of our Lord either handed down by tradition or in written fragments, and Matthew's own personal observation as an apostle, and his communications with his fellow apostles—of those who were "eye-witnesses and ministers of the word."

Papias, on the authority of John the Presbyter, informs us that Mark, being the interpreter of Peter, wrote down whatever he (Peter) remembered of the things said or done by Christ: nor is there any reason to discredit this statement, as it is confirmed and attested by the Fathers. But, besides the oral teaching of Peter, the general oral tradition of the Church would form another source of Mark's Gospel. Mark appears to have been a native of Jerusalem, and to have been intimately connected with the apostolic Church.

Luke, in his preface, informs us how his Gospel was

¹ The most remarkable of these found in the Epistles of Paul are 1 Cor. ii. 9, vii. 10, ix. 10; Eph. v. 14; 1 Thess. iv. 15; 1 Tim. v. 18.

composed. He used his utmost diligence in the collection of authentic facts and sayings of our Lord, "tracing the course of all things accurately from the first." One of the documents which he would employ was the Gospel of Mark. He would, no doubt, make a careful selection of the evangelical fragments in circulation containing the sayings of Christ. He might have learned the account of the birth of our Lord either from the brothers of Christ, or it may be from Mary herself. His intercourse with Paul, and perhaps his residence in Judæa during Paul's imprisonment in Cæsarea, afforded him exceptional opportunities of ascertaining the incidents in our Lord's life. And perhaps also there was an additional narrative or document to which he had access, the so-called great insertion or Perean section (Luke ix. 51-xviii. 14), which does not appear to have been used by the other two evangelists.

The subject is still beset with difficulties; there are still many points not ascertained or settled; many objections to which no satisfactory answers have been given. Especially the relation of Mark's Gospel to the Gospels of Matthew and Luke requires to be more closely examined. We reject the theories of an Ur-Matthæus and an Ur-Marcus as not supported by the statements of the Fathers, and in themselves improbable. And with regard to the statement of Papias, we do not think that it refers to a previous Mark, or to a document containing a collection of the sayings of Christ by Matthew, but to the canonical Gospels of Matthew and Mark then existing, and which came under his notice. At the same time, we must leave the question concerning the sources of the Synoptic Gospels in a considerable measure unanswered, but we look hopefully forward to a satisfactory solution by future critics.

VI. INTERPRETATION OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS.

In the interpretation of the Synoptic Gospels, as of all other ancient writings, the first prerequisite is to secure as correct a text as the nature of the case will permit. For the attainment of this we have the greatest advantages.

The materials for forming such a text are numerous: there are more than two thousand manuscripts of the Greek New Testament, besides numerous versions and quotations from patristic writings. Eminent scholars have expended much labour in a critical examination of these materials, and have published carefully studied critical editions of the Greek Testament. Griesbach arranged the different manuscripts into families, and formed a new text on the basis of the *textus receptus*.¹ Lachmann advanced a step farther, by forming a new text from the most ancient manuscripts, giving no preference to the *textus receptus*, and thus made it his object to restore the text to the state in which it was in the fourth century.² Tischendorf, by the discovery of numerous manuscripts, especially the Codex Sinaiticus, and by the collation of the most important, formed a text which may be regarded as perfect as can possibly be made, almost a restoration of the originals.³ Tregelles, in our own country, carefully collected additional manuscripts, and published a Greek Testament, vying in accuracy with the editions of those illustrious German scholars.⁴ And Westcott and Hort, profiting by the labours of their great predecessors, conjointly published a critical edition,⁵ which by many is considered as a standard work, almost rendering all additional research unnecessary, unless new materials for examination should be discovered. The result of these investigations has been thus stated by Dr. Hort, in terms certainly not too strongly expressed: "In the variety and fulness of the evidence on which it rests, the text of the New Testament stands absolutely and unapproachably alone among ancient prose writings."⁶

¹ Griesbach, *Novum Testamentum græce*, Londini, 1818.

² Lachmann's *Novum Testamentum græce et latine*, Berlin, 1832.

³ Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum græce*, editio septima, Leipsic, 1889; editio octava, 1873.

⁴ Tregelles, *The Greek New Testament*, edited from ancient authorities with their various readings in full, London, 1857-1879.

⁵ *The New Testament in the original Greek*. The text revised by Dr. Westcott and Dr. Hort. By the recent death of Dr. Hort, the Church of England lost one of its ablest scholars, and one of the most amiable of men.

⁶ The manuscripts of the New Testament are divided into two classes, those written in uncial characters, which are the most ancient, and those

Having obtained a correct text, the next task is to translate it. Whatever modification the element of inspiration may necessitate in giving to the text a higher and more spiritual meaning, yet, in the first instance, the ordinary methods of interpretation must be employed to ascertain its literal sense. As the late Professor Jowett observes: "Interpret the Scripture like any other book. There are many respects in which Scripture is unlike any other book; these will appear in the results of such an interpretation. The first step is to know the meaning, and this can only be done in the same careful and impartial way that we ascertain the meaning of Sophocles or of Plato." "Scripture is to be interpreted like other books, with attention to the character of its authors and the prevailing state of civilisation and knowledge, with allowance for peculiarities of style and language, and modes of thought and figures of speech."¹

written in cursive characters, which are the most recent. No manuscript has been discovered older than the fourth century. Of ancient manuscripts there are five which have pre-eminence on account of their age and the consequent value of their readings; these are the Codex Sinaiticus (S), discovered by Tischendorf, and now in St. Petersburg; the Codex Alexandrinus (A), now in the British Museum; the Codex Vaticanus (B), now in the Vatican; the Codex Ephræm (C), a palimpsest, containing fragments of the New Testament, now in the Imperial Library of Paris; and the Codex Bezae, now in the University Library of Cambridge. Perhaps Westcott and Hort, in their critical edition, have ranked too highly the Sinaiticus and the Vaticanus to the disparagement of the Codex Alexandrinus. The cursive manuscripts are much more numerous than the uncials; and it has been thought by Dean Burgon, Canon Cook, and others, that their value has been underestimated, and an undue preference given to the uncials, inasmuch as many of these cursive manuscripts are doubtless transcripts of older manuscripts than any which we possess; but as it is impossible to prove this, the only course left open to us is to form our text chiefly from the readings of the most ancient codices. Of the versions of the New Testament the most valuable are the Old Latin and the Syriac, both of which were formed about the middle of the second century, and thus contain readings older than those of our oldest Greek manuscripts. The quotations from the Fathers are for critical purposes of inferior value, unless on those rare occasions when a peculiar reading is mentioned, because most of these quotations were made from memory.

¹ Jowett's essay on the Interpretation of Scripture in *Essays and Reviews*, 8th ed. pp. 377, 404. The whole essay is well worthy of a careful perusal; some of the statements are of doubtful tendency.

The result of all these scholarly investigations has in our age been the publication of the *Revised Version*, a work which occupied for several years the attention of the most distinguished biblical scholars, both of this country and of America. It has not, it must be admitted, answered the expectations either of those engaged on it or of its admirers. The Authorised Version has not, as was fondly expected, been superseded by it, nor are there any symptoms of this ever being the case; yet it is a great gain to Christians in our country, and a great advantage to biblical scholars. The translation possesses the weight of authority. It is formed on the most approved text, the nearest approach that has yet been made to the original, and hence several passages which are inserted in the Authorised Version are now, after a careful examination of authorities, regarded as interpolations, and a few which were omitted are now inserted as genuine. The chief omissions are the doxology to the conclusion of the Lord's Prayer (Matt. vii. 13), and the testimony of the heavenly witnesses (1 John v. 7); in 1 Tim. iii. 16, He is substituted for God; whilst the incident of the woman taken in adultery (John viii. 1-11), and the concluding verses of Mark's Gospel (Mark xvi. 9-20), are marked as doubtful. The additions to the Authorised text are few; in 1 John ii. 23, the clause: "He that confesseth the Son bath the Father also," is no longer printed in italics, as if it were doubtful. The translation is also distinguished for its accuracy; and thus many obscure passages are elucidated, and many misapprehensions corrected. The great fault of the Revised Version is that it often departs unnecessarily from the fine old English of the Authorised Version, which has endeared itself to the hearts of the people, and has had almost a sanctity imparted to it. Some of the alterations are also of doubtful advantage, as the substitution of "the evil one" for "evil" in the petition in the Lord's Prayer: "Deliver us from evil."

A number of words used in the Synoptic Gospels may be considered as translations either from the Hebrew or from the Aramaic. We have already alluded to the hypothesis of a Hebrew or Aramaic Gospel, advanced by Professor Marshall and Resch, as one of the main sources

of the Synoptics.¹ But although we do not think that there is much or any ground for this hypothesis, yet we have the testimony of Papias, followed by many of the early Fathers, that Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew. This important statement will afterwards be considered; but, if we admit its truth, it follows that the Gospel of Matthew, as we now have it, is a translation from Aramaic or Hebrew into Greek. There may also have been Gospel-fragments in Hebrew used by all three evangelists. If this is the case, it would account for many verbal variations which occur in the Synoptics, in describing the same events and recording the same discourses. As already observed, it never happens that two translators of a passage use precisely the same words; and this is especially the case when translating from the Hebrew and Aramaic, owing to the peculiarities of these languages with regard to their vocalisation; the omission or change of vowel points, which are of comparatively recent origin, occasions a variation of meaning.

On account of its importance, we repeat what has already been said in our *Introduction to the Pauline Epistles*, that an essential prerequisite for the interpretation of Scripture, and of the Synoptic Gospels in particular, is *candour*. This is a quality in which many biblical scholars and exegetes are sadly deficient. From sectarian or doctrinal bias we are apt to err in this particular, and to come to the study of the Synoptic Gospels with preconceived opinions, and seek to read into them our doctrinal views. This is especially seen in the numerous and conflicting interpretations which are given to the Sermon on the Mount.² We must reverse the process, and come to the study of the Scriptures as much as possible without prepossession; not asserting dogmatically that such must be the meaning of a passage because such are the views we have adopted; but that such are our views, because such is the obvious meaning of Scripture.³

¹ See *supra*, p. 60.

² Besides the interpretations given in the different commentaries, the reader is especially referred to the suggestive views of Count Tolstoi.

³ *Introduction to the Pauline Epistles*, p. 54.

Another prerequisite for the interpretation of the Synoptic Gospels is to put ourselves as much as possible in the times when these Gospels were written. We must acquire a knowledge of the circumstances of the times, of the political condition of Judæa, of the opinions of the various parties into which the Jews were divided,—the Pharisees and the Sadducees,—and of the feelings which actuated the mass of the people. We must try and understand the disposition of the Jews toward Christ; His popularity with the people at first, and its gradual decline; and the reason of the hostility of the chief rulers which culminated in His death.¹ We must, with the spirit of a historian, live over in thought that period. “If,” says Cardinal Wiseman, “we wish to understand an author, we must transplant ourselves from our age and country, and place ourselves in the posture of those whom our Saviour addressed. We must invest ourselves with their knowledge, their feelings, habits, opinions, if we wish to understand the discourses which were addressed primarily and immediately to them. For the true meaning of a word or phrase is that which was attached to it at the time when the person whom we interpret wrote or spoke.”

It has been objected, that if the evangelists had not written their Gospels independently, but either used each other's Gospel, or incorporated other written documents, or had recourse to oral traditions; especially if there were original Gospels, now lost, that lay at the foundation of our canonical Gospels, they cannot be considered as inspired: the evangelists are left entirely to the use of their own mental powers, and in many respects are mere compilers. “The inspiration of the Gospels,” says Mr. Sadler, “is incompatible with the theory that they were all taken from one document, for in such a case that unknown and lost document must have been the only one that could be called the work of the Spirit; and the alterations which each one made in it, which their mutual discrepancies show, prove

¹ See especially on this point the great and exhaustive work of Schürer, *The Jewish People in the Time of Christ*; also Hausrath's *History of the New Testament Times: The Time of Jesus*.

that in altering it they individually were not so far guided by the Holy Spirit.”¹

It is foreign to an Introduction to the Synoptic Gospels to enter into any discussion of inspiration, either in proof of its truth or in explanation of its nature and extent; this belongs to the sphere of dogmatic theology. The inspiration of the Gospels does not affect the mode of interpretation, nor the consideration of the sources from which they were derived. The Gospel-fragments, used by the evangelists, or incorporated into their writings, may have been inspired documents; of course of this we have no direct evidence, except that which arises from the nature of their contents. Luke, for example, in his preface, indicates that he had access to several traditionary accounts or written documents, and among them might be the Gospel of Mark and these Gospel-fragments. The Holy Spirit might influence him in the choice of his materials, and might guide and direct him to what was true and important. Our Lord, on the eve of His departure, promised the gift of inspiration to His apostles. The Holy Spirit was to enlighten their minds in the knowledge of the truth, to guide them into all truth, to show them things to come, to reveal those “many things” which Christ had not disclosed, and to assist them in their apologies before kings and rulers. “These things have I spoken unto you, while yet abiding with you. But the Comforter, even the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in My name, He shall teach you all things, and bring to your remembrance all that I have said unto you” (John xiv. 25, 26). “When He, the Spirit of truth, is come, He shall guide you into all truth: for He shall not speak from Himself; but what things soever He shall hear, these shall He speak: and He shall declare unto you the things that are to come” (John xvi. 13). The Fathers repeatedly assert the inspiration of the sacred writers. Tertullian speaks of them as having their minds flooded with the Holy Spirit;² and Origen affirms that the sacred books are not the works of men, but were written by inspiration of the Holy Spirit.³

¹ Quoted in Salmon's *Introduction to the N.T.* p. 156, note. ² *Apol.* 18.

³ *De Princip.* iv. 9. It is difficult, if not impossible, to define the

It has, however, been asserted that there are discrepancies in the Synoptic Gospels of such a nature as disprove their inspiration. Whether these discrepancies exist is one question ; and whether, granting their existence, they are of such a character as to disprove the inspiration of the Gospels, is another. We have already admitted, what is indeed undeniable, that there are great differences in the Gospels, especially in those of Matthew and Luke, in their narratives of the birth of our Lord, of His sufferings and death, and of His resurrection ; and we have dwelt upon these differences in considering the nature of the Synoptic problem. But many of these differences are not inaccuracies or discrepancies, but additions to the history or variations in the statement of the same incidents seen from different points of view.¹ It is also to be observed that there may have been a repetition of the same incidents. Thus to take a notable example : we learn from Matthew and Mark that there were two occasions on which our Lord miraculously fed the multitude, with points of similarity and dissimilarity in the accounts, whilst only one of these instances is recorded by Luke. Now, supposing that Matthew and Mark had only recorded one of those miracles, the feeding of the four thousand, whilst the other miracle, the feeding of the five thousand, was only recorded by Luke, it would be asserted that there were numerous discrepancies in the accounts of the evangelists ; the one account asserting the number of those fed to be four thousand, and the other five thousand ; according to the one the supply of food was seven loaves, according to the other four loaves and two fishes ; the fragments gathered, according to one narrative, were seven baskets full, and according to the other, twelve baskets. Whereas all these discrepancies are at once

nature of inspiration ; and hence in confessions of faith, whilst the inspiration of Scripture is asserted, it is generally left unexplained. It implies that the sacred writers were influenced by the Spirit of God. But this general assertion does not admit of being particularised. See Sanday's *Bampton Lectures* on "Inspiration," pp. 31 ff. ; Row's *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 443-448.

¹ For the consideration of these differences in the Synoptic Gospels the reader is referred to the various commentaries, especially those of Meyer, Godet, Alford, Morison, McClellan, etc.

removed and disappear by the information we possess, that our Lord fed the multitude, not on a single, but on two occasions. A similar solution may solve other difficulties; as, for example, in the case of the anointing of our Lord; one anointing is related by Luke (vii. 36-40), and another by Matthew (xxvi. 6, 7) and Mark (xiv. 3). Both agree in the facts that the person who anointed was a woman, and that the name of the person in whose house it occurred was Simon, one of the most common Jewish names. But in all other particulars they differ essentially; the one occurred during the course of our Lord's ministry in Galilee, the other in Bethany shortly before His passion; in the one case the woman was a penitent sinner, in the other she was the saintly Mary, the sister of Lazarus. All these differences disappear on the reasonable supposition that the anointing occurred on two different occasions. So also there is nothing improbable in the supposition that the disciples twice disputed among themselves which of them should be the greatest (Luke ix. 46, xxii. 24); and that our Lord twice purified the temple by casting out the buyers and sellers, once at the beginning (John ii. 13-17), and a second time at the close of His ministry (Matt. xxi. 12, 13). Many of the sayings of our Lord might have been repeated, as they partook of the nature of proverbial expressions, as "He that humbleth himself shall be exalted; and he that exalteth himself shall be humbled" (Luke xiv. 11, xviii. 14). "Whosoever shall save his life shall lose it" (Luke ix. 24, xvii. 33). So also much of the Sermon on the Mount may have been twice repeated, and our Lord may have given to His disciples on two occasions a similar form of prayer.¹ The alleged discrepancies in the Gospels are greatly diminished in number by these considerations, and the differences which do still exist are proofs of the comparative independence of the writers;

¹ In Matthew's Gospel, the Lord's Prayer constitutes part of the Sermon on the Mount, whilst in Luke's Gospel our Lord is represented as giving it in answer to the request of the disciples to instruct them in the mode of prayer (Luke xi. 1). There are also considerable verbal variations in the two forms. See on doublets in the Gospels, *supra*, p. 37.

indeed, the marvel is that so few alleged discrepancies exist.¹

There is one incident, however, which requires special consideration owing to the extreme difficulty of harmonising the accounts. We allude to the incident of the cure of the blind man at Jericho, as given by all three evangelists (Matt. xx. 29-34; Mark x. 46-52; Luke xviii. 35-43). In the accounts given there is a twofold variation as regards the number of those cured, and as regards the locality where the miracle was performed. Matthew affirms that there were two men,² whilst Mark and Luke seem to intimate that there was only one. Luke tells us that the cure was performed as our Lord entered Jericho, whilst Matthew and Mark say that it happened when He departed from Jericho. The attempted solutions of these discrepancies have hitherto been forced and unnatural, mere evasions of the difficulty. McClellan supposes that as our Lord entered Jericho two blind men sat by the wayside begging, but made no application; and, on the next day, when our Lord was departing, they cried out, "Jesus, Thou Son of David, have mercy on us!" and were cured;³ which is certainly at variance with the account given us by Luke. Greswell supposes that two miracles were performed in Jericho, but at different times and on different individuals; that Mark relates one of the miracles performed when Jesus was departing from Jericho, and Luke relates the other as Jesus was entering Jericho, and that Matthew embraces both cures in one narrative.⁴ But the language employed by the blind men and our Lord, as recorded by all the evangelists, was the same, thus indicating that the miracle was the same. Surely it is

¹ Other apparent discrepancies, as the genealogies, the census of Quirinius, the prophecy of Zechariah referred to Jeremiah, are discussed farther on. The difference between the Synoptics and St. John as to the day of our Lord's death is discussed in the *Introduction to the Johannine Writings*.

² In Matthew's Gospel the number cured is often doubled: as here the two blind men at Jericho, the two demoniacs at Gadara (Matt. viii. 28), the two blind men at Capernaum (Matt. ix. 27).

³ McClellan's *New Testament*, vol. i. p. 467.

⁴ Greswell's *Dissertations*, vol. ii. p. 569.

better frankly to admit the discrepancy than to have recourse to such forced methods of conciliation. There may be some method of reconciliation of which we are ignorant, owing to the scantiness of our information. Even admitting the discrepancy, it is evidently of a slight nature, and does not at all affect the principal fact, that a miracle of healing was performed at Jericho.¹

It is an obvious remark, that in interpreting any writing there must be a certain sympathy between the reader and the writing: a poetical spirit can only understand and appreciate poetry; a mathematical mind can only solve the problems of mathematics; a philosophical mind can only follow the discussions of metaphysicians; an historical mind can only fully enter into the great political and social questions of the age. This is especially the case with the interpretation of the Scriptures: the word of God can only be truly understood by a religious mind. There must be an inspiration within us, an indwelling of the Holy Spirit, to correspond with the inspiration of the Scriptures without us. In this sense we may understand the words of the apostle: "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him; and he cannot know them, because they are spiritually judged" (1 Cor. ii. 14). In order, then, to interpret the Synoptic Gospels aright, to fathom the depth of their meaning, to grasp the fulness of spiritual truth which they contain, we must have spiritual discernment: we must feel the truth in our hearts.²

The Synoptic Gospels to the religious mind possess internal evidences of their inspiration; they bear impressed upon them the mark of their supernatural origin. The

¹ See on this subject some excellent remarks by Row, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 472, 473. Tatian mentions only one blind man, Bartimæus, who was cured when Jesus was departing from Jericho.

² The Scriptures address themselves not so much to man's rational nature, the ψυχή, as to man's spiritual nature, the πνεῦμα. We require the assistance of a higher spirit than our own, even the Spirit of God, the great Inspirer, to understand His word; we must be in sympathy with the great Author. There is great truth in Neander's famous adage: *Pectus est quod theologum facit*. See some excellent remarks on Inspiration in the *Westminster Confession*, ch. i. 5.

discourses recorded in them are the words of One who spoke as never man spoke. The parables of our Lord, for example, are full of inspiration. Those wonderful discourses, linking the world of spirit with the world of matter, transfiguring with a divine glory the phenomena of nature, at once so simple and so profound, so natural and so supernatural, so many-sided, awakening a response, not merely in the hearts of those to whom they were primarily addressed, but in the heart of humanity, are revelations of the Spirit of God.

So also that wonderful discourse of our Lord to which we have already adverted, the so-called Sermon on the Mount, whether we consider it as given on a single occasion in one discourse as is recorded in Matthew's Gospel, or whether we consider it as given in detached portions on different occasions as related in Luke's Gospel, has been almost universally acknowledged to bear upon itself the impress of inspiration.¹ It is the most wonderfully inspired discourse that ever was uttered. It is the revelation of the laws of the Gospel—not the destruction, but the fulfilment and completion of the law—rescuing it from the formal interpretation of the scribes and Pharisees, bringing its precepts to bear upon the heart, declaring that it relates not to outward actions, but to the disposition. It is the inauguration of the kingdom of God. There was doubtless, after the completion of our Lord's work by His death and resurrection, and after His departure from the world, a subsequent development of Christianity by the apostles; but the germs are found in this discourse; it is the fountain from which all subsequent streams of spiritual truth have issued. Plato and Socrates never uttered truths so profound, so living, so transforming, so universal in their application, as those given in this discourse by Jesus of Nazareth.

¹ In all probability the large portion of it given by Luke, the so-called Sermon on the Plain (Luke vi. 20-49), is identical with the occasion when the Sermon on the Mount was delivered. The circumstances attending both discourses are similar, there being in both cases multitudes of hearers from Galilee and Judea and from beyond Jordan; and the time when they were spoken appears to coincide. So Stroud, Tholuck, Ewald, Alford, Wordsworth, Westcott, McClellan, and Ellicott. See *supra*, p. 39.

It has been maintained that the Sermon on the Mount and the other discourses and parables of our Lord contained in the Synoptics form the main truths of Christianity—the fundamentals of the religion of Jesus. We have been, it is said, too long deriving our Christianity from the teaching of Paul, we must return to the Christianity of Christ. We must draw the living water, not from the stream, but from the fountain-head. On all sides the cry is: “Back to Christ!”¹ It is from His teaching, as recorded in the Synoptic Gospels chiefly, that we derive our knowledge of the way of salvation. Even the Gospel of John, long regarded as “the spiritual Gospel,” as disclosing the heart of Jesus, must, it is said, yield the palm to the Synoptics, and occupy a secondary place. “The heart of the man Jesus in its rich fulness of grace and spiritual truth, is more adequately shown in the first three Gospels than in the fourth.”² And with regard to the Epistles of Paul, the view of Christianity, as there exhibited, must be regarded as inferior to the revelation in the Synoptic Gospels. “Paul’s point of view is individual; Christ’s is social.” “It is the business of theology to determine the affinities between the Galilean and the Pauline Gospels, but it is the privilege of religious faith to enter into life by the door which Jesus has opened, without stopping to inquire whether Paul’s key fits the lock. The words of Jesus are ‘words of eternal life,’ and no truth not spoken by Him can be essential to salvation, however helpful for upbuilding in faith.”³ Even with regard to the death of Christ, whilst Paul insists on it as the great atonement for sin, yet he has not “presented in all its aspects the meaning of Christ’s death; he has not taught with breadth and emphasis the precious doctrine of Christ’s temptations and priestly sympathy.”⁴

Now this exaltation of the Sermon on the Mount and

¹ Bruce, *The Kingdom of God*, p. 329. See also this thought developed in Principal Fairbairn’s recent suggestive work, *Christ in Modern Theology*.

² Bruce’s *Apologetics*, pp. 485–490. See, on the contrary, Tholuck’s *Sermon on the Mount*, trans. p. 35; here he states: “In the further development of Rationalism, the ground it took was most plainly indicated by its preference of the Epistle of St. James to those of St. Paul, and of the Sermon on the Mount to the Gospel of St. John.”

³ Bruce’s *Apologetics*, pp. 427, 428.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 426, 427.

the Synoptic discourses above other parts of Scripture, appears to us erroneous. Most certainly the teaching of Christ is of primary importance; but it did not contain the full revelation, it was necessarily of a preparatory character. Jesus Himself said: "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit when He, the Spirit of truth, is come, He shall guide you into all the truth" (John xvi. 12, 13). The apostles during the life of their Lord were not capable of receiving the full revelation of salvation; the atoning nature of the death of Christ could not be fully declared until Christ had died and the atonement had actually been made: the Holy Spirit was not given until Jesus was glorified (John vii. 39). He by His teaching laid the foundation of the spiritual temple, but the apostles under the guidance of the Holy Spirit were the instruments employed in rearing the superstructure. Paul and the other sacred writers unfolded truths which Jesus had only revealed in part. They explained the way of salvation more distinctly; the agency and work of the Holy Spirit was not clearly made known until the outpouring of His influences on the day of Pentecost.

The three Synoptic Gospels have their distinctive peculiarities. There are properly not three Gospels, but one Gospel under different aspects. It is one Person who is described; they contain memorabilia of Christ. They are three photographs of one original, shown in different lights, and placed in different positions. Yet there is no unvaried uniformity; the characteristics of each writer are impressed upon his writing: there is no slavish copying of one from the other: inspiration does not obliterate the personality of the evangelists. Matthew, writing to the Jews, dwells upon Jesus as the Messiah; he heaps proof upon proof that the prophecies of the Old Testament were fulfilled in Him; he does not dwell so much as the other evangelists on the incidents of our Lord's life, but groups His discourses and gives them in a compact form: he imparts to us the teaching of Him who came to redeem Israel and establish the kingdom of God. Mark, writing perhaps to the Romans, dwells upon Jesus as the Emperor, the great King of men, the Son of God: he

dwells chiefly on His miracles and less on His discourses; he writes with the freshness of an eye-witness, and gives graphic and lifelike descriptions of the incidents he records. Luke dwells on the human nature of Jesus: he discloses His divine compassion and condescension; he describes Him, not so much as the Son of David, but as the Son of Man; he indicates the universality of His mission, and reveals Him as the Saviour, not of the Jews merely, but of the world, as the Friend and Redeemer of the human race.¹

VII. THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

It is natural to endeavour to arrange the statements of the three evangelists into a harmony; to represent the life of Christ as a unity. This was attempted at a very early period. Many suppose that Justin Martyr (A.D. 150) in quoting from the Gospels, as the memorials of Christ, used a harmony. It is certain that shortly afterwards (A.D. 160) Tatian drew up his celebrated Diatessaron, or the four Gospels in one (εὐαγγέλιον διὰ τῶν τεσσάρων).² He was followed by Ammonius (ἁρμόνιον, A.D. 230) and Augustine (*De consensu evangelistarum*). Calvin drew up a harmony of the Gospels in a liberal manner, making full allowance for their variations: according to him, in Matthew the greatest attention is paid to consecutive order; in Luke, the least. Osiander in his *Harmonia evangeliorum* proceeded on an entirely different principle. His dogmatic assumption was that as the evangelists were inspired, the discourses of Jesus, when there was any considerable difference, must have been repeated, and His actions must have been related in the exact order in which they occurred; hence the same events were represented as having

¹ For the distinctive peculiarities of the Gospels, see Ellicott's *Hulsean Lectures* on the life of our Lord Jesus Christ, Lecture V.; Westcott's *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, pp. 308-313; Fairbairn's *Christ in Modern Theology*, pp. 334-338.

² We have now (1894) the great advantage of perusing the Diatessaron of Tatian in a translation from the Arabic, and have to express our high admiration of it. As a harmony it is not inferior to many of modern times.

happened twice or even three times.¹ Modern harmonies of the Gospels are exceedingly numerous, and some of them of great value. Greswell's *Dissertations upon the principles and arrangement of the Harmony of the Gospels*,² contain matter of high importance, well deserving of attentive study. Stroud, arranging the Gospels in parallel columns, formed out of them a combined Greek text.³ Wieseler's *Synopsis of the Four Gospels*,⁴ is chiefly a series of important discussions on the chronology of our Lord's life. The value of Rushbrooke's *Synopticon* has already been adverted to.⁵

But the question meets us: Is a harmony of the Synoptic Gospels possible? If the evangelists do not follow a chronological order, how can we draw up a harmony of their accounts? Alford denies this possibility, and asserts that all attempts at arrangement are fruitless labours. The endeavours of harmonists to force into agreement the different accounts, he asserts, have been most prejudicial, and have given occa-

¹ Schaff asserts that according to Osiander, Peter's wife's mother was healed three times.

² Published at Oxford, 1830.

³ Stroud's *Greek Harmony of the Four Gospels*, London, 1853. This is a work of great labour and erudition. There is a long introduction or dissertation of 216 pages. Stroud was not a clergyman, but a physician.

⁴ Translated by Venables, Cambridge, 1864.

⁵ We give a list of the principal Harmonies of the Gospels given alphabetically: Anger's *Synopsis Evangeliorum*; Bengel's *Richtige Harmonie der vier Evangelien*, Tübingen, 1736; Calvin on the Gospels; Campbell, Dr. Colin, *Greek of the Three First Gospels*, Glasgow, 1882; Caspari's *Life of Christ*, trans. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1876; Chemnitz, *Harmonia quatuor Evangelistarum*, Hamburg, 1704; Credner's *Einleitung*, pp. 161 ff.; Doddridge's *Family Expositor*; Greswell's *Harmonia Evangelica*, Oxford, 1810; Griesbach, *Synopsis Evangeliorum*, Halle, 1776; Lightfoot's *Harmony*, London, 1655; Macknight's *Harmony of the Gospels*, London, 1763; Michaelis, *Introduction*, translated by Marsh, vol. iv. pp. 40-84; McClellan's *New Testament*, pp. 539-621; Newcome, *Harmony of the Gospels*, Dublin, 1778; Robinson, *Harmony of the Four Gospels*, Boston, 1818; Roediger's *Synopsis Evangeliorum*, Halle, 1739; Rushbrooke's *Synopticon*, London, 1880; Stroud's *Greek Harmony of the Gospels*, London, 1853; Tischendorf's *Synopsis Evangelica*, Leipzig, 1851; Thomson (Archbishop), *Table of the Harmony of the Gospels* in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*; article, "The Gospels"; Wieseler's *Chronologische Synopsis der vier Evangelien*, Hamburg, 1843.

sion to objections to the Gospel narrative.¹ But although a minute harmony, embracing details, is perhaps impossible, yet there is a general harmony; the great events of our Lord's life can be arranged in the order of their occurrence, although the subordinate events cannot. Luke, in his preface, states that having traced the course of all things accurately from the first, he intended to write them in order (*καθεξῆς*); but this order is only generally maintained. On the other hand, Papias declares that Mark followed Peter, who adapted his teaching to the needs of his hearers, but with no intention of giving a connected account of our Lord's discourses (*οὐχ ὥσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λόγων*).² The allusion here may be only to our Lord's discourses, and not to the incidents of His life; for it is now generally admitted that the order observed in Mark's Gospel is the most trustworthy. Whilst, then, it cannot be maintained universally that the order of events, as given in harmonies, is chronologically correct, yet there is an undisputed order in which many particulars are recorded. The baptism of John inaugurated the ministry of our Lord, then follows an account of His missionary journeys through Galilee, with the two great crises in His life, the confession of His Messiahship by His apostles, and His transfiguration; then His entrance into Jerusalem, and the account of His passion. The record of the six days which intervened between His entrance into Jerusalem and His death, can be so drawn up that the events of each day can be recorded with extreme probability.³

Until our Lord's last visit to Jerusalem, the Synoptic Gospels are restricted to His ministry in Galilee. The time occupied in that ministry is not stated, and hence the arrangement of these Gospels is not according to time, but according to the special missionary journeys through Galilee. It would appear from these Gospels that three circuits of

¹ Alford's *Greek Testament*, ch. i. § vii., "The practicability of constructing a formal harmony of the three Gospels."

² He also says that he wrote down accurately, but not in order (*οὐ τάξει*).

³ Definite marks of time and place are seldom given; the particles of transition are in general indefinite; and it is only rarely that a connected series of events is recorded.

Galilee are mentioned, each of them proceeding from and returning to Capernaum. The first circuit was at the commencement of the ministry, and is recorded by all the evangelists. They tell us that Jesus went about in all Galilee, teaching in the synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of sickness and all manner of disease among the people (Matt. iv. 23; Mark i. 35-39; Luke iv. 42-44). It was at the close of this circuit that the Sermon on the Mount was delivered. The second circuit is most fully recorded in Luke's Gospel, where we read that "afterwards He went through cities and villages preaching and bringing the good tidings of the kingdom of God," accompanied by the women of Galilee, who ministered unto Him of their substance (Luke viii. 1-3). It was during this journey that He commenced teaching the people by means of parables. The third circuit is mentioned by Matthew and Mark in language precisely similar to the statement of the first circuit: "Jesus went through all the cities and villages, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom" (Matt. ix. 35-38; Mark vi. 6). It was during this journey that He twice performed the miracle of feeding the multitude, and sent forth His apostles to pave the way for His mission; then also the confession of His Messiahship by the apostles and the Transfiguration occurred. Greswell remarks that there are "clear evidences of three general, and, at least, two partial circuits—the two last of the general and each of the partial within the compass of the same year, and the first of the general during the six months of the year before."¹ A harmony of the Synoptic Gospels may be drawn up according to these three circuits and the events stated, which probably occurred during each of them.

If, however, the Fourth Gospel is taken into account, then the harmony of the Gospels must proceed upon a different principle—not according to the circuits in Galilee, but according to the order of time. From John's Gospel we

¹ Greswell's *Dissertations*, vol. ii. p. 343. See also for the missionary journeys of Jesus in Galilee, and starting from Capernaum, Halcomb, *What think ye of the Gospels?* pp. 48 ff.

learn that our Lord's ministry must have extended over two to three years, as three Passovers are mentioned (John ii. 13, vi. 3, 4, xii. 1). Accordingly, harmonies have been made comprising the three years' ministry, stating the events which in all probability happened in each of these years.¹ This is a difficult task, as the only incident in John's Gospel which comes in contact with the ministry of our Lord, as recorded by the Synoptics, is the feeding of the five thousand (John vi. 1-13), until we come to the narrative of the Passion. Most of this arrangement must, of course, be conjectural.

It is unnecessary to give a table of the harmony of the Gospels, as this has been so frequently done by others. If, as is most probable, Mark is the original Gospel, and was consulted by Matthew and Luke, then it is best to use the Gospel of Mark as the basis, and to draw up the harmony with the order there laid down. In this manner it is not difficult to group all the events recorded in the three Gospels (the triple narrative). We can then fill up the outline with the incidents recorded separately by Matthew, Mark, and Luke. It is probable that the great insertion in Luke's Gospel (Luke ix. 51-xviii. 14) is correctly termed the Peræan Gospel, and that the incidents therein recorded occurred in Peræa during our Lord's residence in that district, as stated by John, toward the close of His ministry (John x. 40).

¹ See especially Caspari's *Chronological Introduction to the Life of Christ*.

THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW.

LITERATURE.—The Gospel of Matthew has been often commented on. Omitting those commentaries included in the general commentaries of the New Testament, and those already indicated in the Literature of the Synoptic Gospels, the principal commentaries are those of Alexander of Princeton College (New York, 1861); De Wette (4th ed. Leipzig, 1857); Ewald, *Die drei ersten Evangelien übersetzt und erklärt* (Göttingen, 1850); Lange (Bielefeld, 1861; English translation by Schaff, New York, 1864); Morison (London, 1870; last ed. 1883); Meyer (6th ed. 1876; 8th ed. by Weiss, 1890; English translation by the Rev. P. Christie, Edinburgh, 1877); Keil (Leipzig, 1877); Mansel in *Speaker's Commentary* (London, 1878); Plumptre (London, 1878); Kübel (Munich, 1889); Carr in *Cambridge Bible for Schools* (London, 1890). Also Tholuck's *Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount* (Hamburg, 1833; English translation, Edinburgh, 1860); Ebrard's *Gospel History* (translation, Edinburgh, 1860); Lord Arthur Hervey's *Genealogies of Our Lord* (Cambridge, 1883); Robert's *Discussions on the Gospels* (London, 1862); and Nicholson's *Gospel according to the Hebrews* (London, 1879).

I. GENUINENESS OF THE GOSPEL.

We have already considered the genuineness of the Synoptic Gospels conjointly; but we require to consider the testimonies which relate to each Gospel separately; and this is especially necessary with regard to the Gospel of Matthew, on account of the peculiar nature of the evidence referring to it.

Some critics have gone the length of asserting that the Gospel of Matthew has scriptural attestation in its favour, being quoted or referred to in the Epistle of James.¹ The similarities between that Epistle and the Sermon on the Mount are indeed so numerous and striking that they cannot escape notice.² Out of numerous instances may be adduced three, in which the resemblances are most remarkable. "Howbeit if ye fulfil the royal law according to the Scripture, thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, ye do well" (Jas. ii. 8). These words, found in Matthew's Gospel (xxii. 39), appear to be given as an express quotation from Scripture (κατὰ τὴν γραφήν).³ "Can a fig tree, my brethren, yield olives? or a vine, figs?" (Jas. iii. 12), where there is a strong similarity to our Lord's words in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. vii. 16). "But above all things, my brethren, swear not; neither by the heaven nor by the earth, nor by any other oath: but let your yea be yea; and your nay, nay" (Jas. v. 12). This prohibition against swearing appears to be a direct citation from the Sermon on the Mount, where the same prohibition is given in almost identical terms (Matt. v. 34-37). We do not, however, think that these and similar expressions in the Epistle of James are references to or citations from Matthew's Gospel. The probability is that the Epistle was written before the Gospel. These similarities may be accounted for by referring them to the sayings of Christ, which, either in a written or in an oral form, were current among the early Christians, and which, as we have seen, formed one of the main sources of the Synoptic Gospels.

The most important document bearing upon the genuineness of the Gospel of Matthew is the Didaché, or "Teaching of the twelve apostles." This valuable document was discovered by Philotheos Bryennios in the Jerusalem monastery in Constantinople in 1873, and published by him in 1883.⁴

¹ See Schmid, *Biblical Theology of the N.T.* pp. 364-366.

² Lists of these similarities are given by Theile, Kern, Huther, Schmid, Beyschlag, Reuss, Erdmann, Alford, Davidson, Bassett, Plumptre, and Salmon.

³ James may be here quoting from the law of Moses, Lev. xix. 18.

⁴ The reader is referred to Schaff's *Oldest Church Manual* for an

There can be no reasonable doubt of its genuineness. It was repeatedly mentioned by the early Fathers. Clemens Alexandrinus quotes it as Scripture,¹ and it is referred to by Irenæus. Eusebius mentions it among the spurious writings.² It appears to have been an early Church manual, possibly for the use and instruction of catechumens, describing the "two ways," the way of life and the way of death. It has all the marks of high antiquity, as there are in it no references to the Gnostic heresies, nor to those changes in Church orders which arose in the beginning of the second century.³ "The Didaché," observes Dr. Schaff, "has the marks of the highest antiquity, and is one of the oldest, if not the very oldest, of post-apostolic writings. There is nothing in it which could not have been written between A.D. 70 and 100."⁴ It abounds with reminiscences of the words of Christ as given in Matthew's Gospel. There are at least twenty-two references, and several of them almost exact quotations. The following are the most striking references: "If anyone give thee a blow on the right cheek, turn to him the other also, and thou shalt be perfect. If anyone shall compel thee to go with him one mile, go with him twain. If anyone take away thy cloak, give him thy coat also."⁵ "Baptize ye into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost,

exhaustive account of the Didaché; see also *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, edited, with a translation and notes, by Boswell D. Hitchcock and Francis Brown, New York, 1884.

¹ Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.* i. 20: "It is such a one that is called in Scripture (γραφεῖς) a thief. It is therefore said: 'Son, be not a liar; for lying leads to theft.'" Comp. Didaché iii. 5: "My child, become not a liar; since lying leads to theft."

² Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 25. All that Eusebius probably means is that it was not written by the apostles. It is included in the *Strichometry* of Nicephorus.

³ It is a matter of dispute whether the description of "the two ways" in the Epistle of Barnabas is taken from the Didaché, or conversely. The priority of the Didaché is advocated by Zahn, Funk, and Langen, and denied by Bryennios, Hilgenfeld, and Harnack; whilst Bishop Lightfoot and Warfield supposed that both Barnabas and the writer of the Didaché drew from a common source which is lost.

⁴ Schaff's *Oldest Church Manual*, p. 119.

⁵ Ch. i. 4; comp. Matt. v. 39-41.

in living water.”¹ “Neither pray ye as the hypocrites, but as the Lord commanded in His gospel. After this manner pray ye”; and then follows the Lord’s Prayer, including the doxology.² “The Lord hath said, Give not that which is holy unto dogs.”³ Now, the question is, How are we to account for these minute resemblances? If the citations had been confined to passages contained in the Sermon on the Mount, we might suppose that, as in the case of the Epistle of James, they may have been taken from the oral Gospel as preached by the apostles.⁴ But as they extend to other parts of Matthew’s Gospel, we appear to be shut up to the conclusion that they are actual quotations from that Gospel: that the author or authors of the Didaché, in drawing up this Church manual, drew many of the precepts contained in it from the first Gospel. The parallels are much closer than those found in the writings of the apostolic Fathers or of Justin Martyr.⁵

The Gospel of Matthew is referred to or quoted by all the apostolic Fathers. Thus Clemens Romanus (A.D. 96) says: “Remember the words of the Lord Jesus which He spoke concerning gentleness and longsuffering. For thus He said, Be ye merciful, that ye may obtain mercy. Forgive, that it may be forgiven you: as ye do, so shall it be done unto you; as ye judge, so shall ye be judged; as ye are kind, so shall kindness be shown to you; with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you.”⁶ And again: “Remember the words of the Lord Jesus Christ, how He said, Woe to that man; it would be better for him that he had never been born, than that he should offend one of My elect. It were better for him that a millstone should be hung about his neck, and that he should be drowned in the sea, than that he should offend one of My little ones.”⁷

¹ Ch. vii. 1; comp. Matt. xxviii. 19.

² Ch. viii. 2; comp. Matt. vi. 5, 9-13.

³ Ch. ix. 5; comp. Matt. vii. 6.

⁴ The opinion of Lechler.

⁵ It is, however, to be observed that Dr. Salmon supposes that the Didaché of Bryennios had been preceded by a shorter form which did not contain the references to the Sermon on the Mount; *Introduction to the N.T.* 7th ed. p. 559.

⁶ Clemens Romanus, ch. xiii.; comp. Matt. vi. 12-15, vii. 2.

⁷ *Ibid.* xlv.; comp. Matt. xviii. 6.

One of the earliest of the Christian writings is the so-called Epistle of Barnabas. The whole Greek text of this Epistle is found in the Sinaitic manuscript (א), not, however, as if it were one of the canonical books of the New Testament, but as an extra-canonical book, being placed after the Apocalypse. Another manuscript of this Epistle was one of the important discoveries of Bryennios.¹ It is of doubtful origin. Clemens Alexandrinus repeatedly quotes it, and expressly attributes it to the Apostle Barnabas, the companion of Paul.² Elsewhere he states that he was one of the Seventy. Origen quotes it twice, and calls it the Epistle of Barnabas.³ Jerome also assigns the authorship of the Epistle to Barnabas.⁴ Eusebius, on the other hand, ranks it among the spurious books.⁵ In the present day it is generally regarded by biblical scholars as not the work of Barnabas.⁶ But whether genuine or not, its great antiquity is universally admitted. Such high authorities as Bishop Lightfoot⁷ and Weizsäcker, arguing from a passage found in it giving an enumeration of the Roman emperors, infer that it was written in the reign of Vespasian, shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem⁸ (A.D. 70). But the inference

¹ In the same volume which contained the Didaché. The documents contained in that volume are as follows:—1. A Synopsis of the Old and New Testaments by Chrysostom; 2. The Epistle of Barnabas; 3. The First Epistle of Clement; 4. The Second Epistle of Clement; 5. The Didaché; 6. The Spurious Epistle of Mary of Cassoboli; 7. Twelve Pseudo-Ignatian Epistles.

² Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.* ii. 6.

³ Origen, *De Principiis*, iii. 2; *Contra Celsum*, i. 63.

⁴ Jerome, *De Vir.* iii. 6.

⁵ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 25.

⁶ Its genuineness has been defended by Professor Milligan, Smith's *Christian Biography*, article "Barnabas." Its genuineness is also maintained by Gieseler, Guericke, Bleek.

⁷ Lightfoot's *Apostolic Fathers: St. Clement of Rome*, vol. ii. p. 506. With Lightfoot and Weizsäcker, Professor Sanday also agrees. See Sanday's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 235, and also Dr. Salmon's *Introduction to the N.T.* 7th ed. p. 518.

⁸ The passage is as follows:—"Ten kingdoms shall reign upon the earth, and a little king shall rise up after them, who shall subdue three of the kings under one. In like manner Daniel says concerning the same: And I saw the fourth beast, wicked and strong and savage beyond all the beasts of the earth, and how from it sprang up ten horns, and out of

which they draw from this passage is doubtful. The most generally received opinion is that the Epistle of Barnabas was written by an unknown author toward the close of the first century (A.D. 100). The following quotations from Matthew's Gospel are found in it: "Let us beware, lest we be found (fulfilling the saying) as it is written (γέγραπται), Many are called, but few chosen."¹ "But when He chose His apostles who were to preach the gospel, He did so from among those who were sinners above others, that He might show that He came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance."²

The next Father, in order of date, is Ignatius (A.D. 118). The genuineness of his Epistles has long been the subject of dispute. They exist in two recensions, the larger and smaller or Vossian recension. Cureton discovered a Syriac manuscript containing only three Epistles, and these in a more abridged form than the smaller recension. After the learned investigations of Bishop Lightfoot, it is now generally acknowledged that the seven Epistles found in the smaller recension are genuine, though perhaps containing several interpolations, and that the Curetonian recension is an abridgment.³ Now, in the Epistle of Ignatius to the Romans, the best attested of all his Epistles, we have the following distinct quotation from Matthew: "It is better to die for the sake of Jesus Christ than to reign over all the ends of the earth: for what shall a man be profited if he gain the whole world, but lose his own soul."⁴ And in the Epistle to Polycarp we have the following words: "Mitigate violent attacks by gentle applications. Be in all things wise as a serpent and harmless as a dove."⁵

them a little horn, an offshoot, and how it subdued under one three of the great horns," Barnabas, ch. iv. According to Lightfoot, the three great horns are Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, who ruled conjointly; and the little horn who was to subdue them was Nero revived. See also Ramsay's *The Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 307.

¹ Barnabas, ch. iv.; comp. Matt. xx. 16.

² Barnabas, ch. v.; comp. Matt. ix. 13.

³ The reader is referred to Bishop Lightfoot's learned and exhaustive work, *Apostolic Fathers: St. Ignatius and St. Polycarp*. See also Zahn's *Ignatius von Antioch*; Gloag's *Introduction to the Johannine Writings*, pp. 100 f.

⁴ Ep. ad Romanos, ch. vi.; comp. Matt. xvi. 26.

⁵ Ep. ad Polycarp, ch. ii.; comp. Matt. x. 16. The words here are

The Epistle of Polycarp (A.D. 116) was written shortly after the martyrdom of Ignatius. Its genuineness is attested by Irenæus, who was one of his disciples: "There is also a powerful Epistle of Polycarp written to the Philippians, from which those who choose to do so, and are anxious about their salvation, can learn the character of his faith and the preaching of his truth."¹ In this Epistle of Polycarp there are two quotations from the Gospel of Matthew. "Remember what the Lord said in His teaching, Judge not, that ye be not judged: forgive, and it shall be forgiven unto you: be merciful, that you may obtain mercy. With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again. And once more, Blessed are the poor and those that are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of God."² "Beseeching the all-seeing God in our supplications not to lead us into temptation; for as the Lord has said, The spirit truly is willing, but the flesh is weak."³

We have already had frequent occasion to allude to the testimony of Papias (A.D. 120). "So then Matthew wrote the oracles (λόγια) in the Hebrew language, and everyone interpreted them as he was able."⁴ We have endeavoured to show that Papias here does not, as many biblical scholars affirm, speak of some original document which lay at the foundation of Matthew's Gospel—the nucleus of that Gospel; but that he alludes to the canonical Gospel as we possess it, and which was in existence in his days.⁵

It is unnecessary to refer to the testimony of the early post-apostolic Fathers; for it is now hardly disputed that the Gospel of Matthew was received as authentic by the Christian Church in the middle of the second century. Justin Martyr (A.D. 150), when he speaks of the Memoirs or Memorabilia of Christ, frequently refers to this Gospel, without, however, naming it, often quoting the precise words, but

nearly identical with those in the Gospel of Matthew: *ῥόνημος γίνου ὡς ὁ Θεὸς ἐν ἅπασιν καὶ ἀκέραιος ὡσεὶ περιστερά*, the singular being employed.

¹ Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* iii. 3. 4.

² Polycarp, *Ep. ad Philip.* ch. ii.; comp. *Matt.* vii. 1, 2, v. 3, 10.

³ *Ibid.* ch. vii.; comp. *Matt.* vi. 13, xxvi. 41.

⁴ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 40.

⁵ *Supra*, pp. 18–20.

more frequently quoting from memory, thus occasioning a slight difference between the words of Jesus as quoted by Justin and those found in the Gospels. It is unnecessary to give instances of the quotations which are scattered throughout all the writings of Justin. Jeremiah Jones gives twenty-seven quotations from the Gospel of Matthew by Justin,¹ whilst Kirchhofer increases the number to thirty-one.² Professor Sanday gives us a table of all the references of Justin to our Gospels, and observes: "The total result may be taken to be that ten passages are substantially exact, while twenty-five present slight, and thirty-six marked variations."³

Irenæus (A.D. 180) is the first Father who names Matthew as the author of the first Gospel. "Matthew, the apostle, declares that John, when preparing the way for Christ, said to those who were boasting of their relationship to Abraham: O generation of vipers, who hath shown you to flee from the wrath to come? Bring forth therefore fruit meet for repentance."⁴ And again: "Matthew, when speaking of the angel, says: The angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in sleep."⁵

But the genuineness of Matthew's Gospel is not only attested by the early Fathers, but also by the early Gnostic heretics. Basilides (A.D. 125), Valentinus (A.D. 150),⁶ and Heracleon (A.D. 160), in the fragments of their works preserved in the writings of the Fathers, have references to or citations from it.⁷ Besides, there are the Old Latin and Syriac versions made about the middle, or at least before the close of the second century. It is more than probable that the Gospels were the first books which were received by the Christian Church as canonical and divinely inspired, and were read, as Justin informs us, in their public assemblies. This would naturally be the case, as the life of Christ, His discourses and actions, would be regarded by the early Chris-

¹ Jones, *On the Canon*, vol. iii. p. 27.

² Kirchhofer's *Quellensammlung*, pp. 89-104.

³ Sanday's *Gospels of the Second Century*, pp. 113-116.

⁴ Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* iii. 9. 1; comp. Matt. iii. 7.

⁵ *Ibid.* iii. 9. 2; comp. Matt. i. 20, 21.

⁶ *Ibid.* i. 8. 2.

⁷ See Davidson's *Introduction to the N.T.* 1st ed. vol. i. pp. 70, 71. Sanday's *Gospels of the Second Century*, pp. 188 ff.

tians of primary importance. This consideration sufficiently accounts for references to them being of such early date.

Although, certainly, the genuineness of Matthew's Gospel rests chiefly on the external evidence, which is in itself perfectly sufficient, yet there is not wanting internal evidence which confirms the external, though we do not place the stress of the argument on it. The attributing of the Gospel to Matthew, a comparatively unknown and obscure apostle, is in itself a presumption in its favour. If the design were to palm a Gospel upon the Church, it would not be attributed to an apostle who is never mentioned, except in the narrative of his call and in the lists of the apostles, and of whom there are hardly any records in ecclesiastical history; but to some more distinguished apostle, such as Peter, James, Andrew, Thomas, or Philip, whose names occur in the Gospels in connection with events in the life of Jesus. Besides, this Gospel contains within itself the evidences of its authenticity; it bears upon it the impress of truth. The discourses of our Lord, especially the parables and the Sermon on the Mount as there recorded, are beyond the capacity of the human intellect to compose; they are divine utterances, and all attempts to imitate them end in failure. Even those inspired writings which follow the Gospels are cast in a different mould; they want the simplicity, the freshness, the naturalness, the impressiveness of the parabolic element. As Professor Salmon says: "In point of style we travel into a new country, when we pass from the Synoptic Gospels to the Apostolic Epistles";¹ whilst the writings of the apostolic Fathers are mere dross compared with the gold found in the Gospels.

But, notwithstanding this strong attestation in favour of the Gospel of Matthew, its genuineness has been disputed on various grounds. The doubts as to its apostolic origin are drawn from the nature of the work, and not from any defect in the external evidence. They arise chiefly from the exigencies of the ease in the attempts of critics to solve the Synoptic problem. It has in recent times been disputed by

¹ Salmon's *Introduction to the N.T.* p. 136.

Schleiermacher, Sieffert,¹ Eichhorn,² Meyer, Reuss, Holtzmann, De Wette,³ and Davidson.

1. It is affirmed that the Gospel, as we now have it, cannot be the original Gospel of Matthew, but must be a compilation; that there was a previous Aramaic Gospel, or a collection of Logia, probably written by Matthew, which formed the groundwork or nucleus of the canonical Gospel; that this Aramaic Gospel was increased by subsequent additions at different periods, and was translated by different persons, and that from this our canonical Gospel was gradually formed; that the original Gospel is now lost, and that what we now have is a translation or recension of it with additions by an unknown author or authors. This is the opinion of those who hold the two document hypothesis. Thus Meyer observes: "In the form in which the Gospel now exists, it cannot have originally proceeded from the hands of the Apostle Matthew."⁴ Professor Sanday, in his article in the *Expositor*, already referred to, says: "This at least is a point on which there is increasing unanimity, that the Apostle Matthew did not write the whole of the first Gospel as we have it. That he wrote a section of it, so important that his name passed from that to the whole, is by most writers willingly conceded; but analysis reveals the composite nature of our Gospel too clearly for it to be probable that we have in it the original work of our apostle, as it left his pen."⁵ And so also Dr. Marcus Dods observes: "In the present state of criticism, it is impossible to speak with certainty of the origin of the first Gospel. That the apostle, by whose name it is still called, had something to do with its composition is tolerably certain, but it is also certain that it passed through more hands than his before it reached its present form."⁶

Now it is admitted that in a certain sense the Gospel of

¹ *Ueber den Ursprung des ersten kanonischen Evangeliums.*

² According to his theory of the original Gospel, which regards the canonical Gospel as a later edition. So also all those who adopt his theory or the modern modification of it.

³ See De Wette's *Einleitung*, § 98a.

⁴ Meyer, *Matthew*, vol. i. p. 3, translation.

⁵ The *Expositor*, vol. iii. fourth series, p. 303.

⁶ *The Supernatural in Christianity*, p. 83.

Matthew may be regarded as a compilation. How far it is so will be more fully determined when we come to consider the sources of the Gospel. But it is not a compilation in the sense of those objectors, namely, that there is only a nucleus which can primarily be referred to Matthew, whilst the rest has arisen from subsequent additions or accretions. A change of Gospels, the substitution of one for another, or the enlargement of a previous Gospel, is not only never hinted at by the Fathers, but its occurrence is difficult to conceive, considering the sacredness attached to these records of the life of Jesus; it would involve time, and the early formation of Matthew's Gospel does not give sufficient time for such a growth and development. This Gospel was certainly recognised before the close of the first century, and time must be allowed even for this early recognition. Besides, the uniformity of style and expression in our Gospel proves the unity of authorship. There are the same expressions, as, for example, "That it might be fulfilled," "the kingdom of heaven,"¹ "the end of the world," continually recurring, and marking the individuality of the author.²

2. It has been maintained that the first Gospel, at least as we now have it, could not possibly be the work of an apostle who was the constant follower of our Lord, because it wants all the characteristics of an eye-witness. Many of the most important incidents of our Lord's life are omitted. There is no mention of the Judæan ministry which, as we learn from the Gospel of John, formed so important a part of our Lord's mission. In the narrative there is a complete want of graphic description; it is a narrative of incidents without anything to suggest that the narrator himself was present when these incidents occurred.

To this objection it is replied that it was not the design of Matthew or of any of the evangelists to compose a complete biography of Christ, but merely to give a sufficient

¹ Whilst elsewhere in Scripture the phrase is the kingdom of God, ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ, Matthew uses the phrase, the kingdom of heaven, ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, more than thirty times.

² A full list of these peculiarities in Matthew's Gospel is given by Credner, *Einführung in das N.T.* p. 63.

selection of facts from a life so full and beneficent. The Judæan ministry is omitted probably because that ministry occupied so small a portion of the life of Christ; it was only occasionally, at the annual festivals, that He went up to Jerusalem; by far the greater portion of His life was spent in Galilee. Besides, there are indications in this Gospel that our Lord, during the course of His public ministry, did visit Judæa. Thus we read: "It came to pass, when Jesus had finished these words, He departed from Galilee, and came into the borders of Judæa beyond Jordan" (Matt. xix. 1). And with regard to the want of graphic details, this has been greatly exaggerated, although it is admitted that in this particular the Gospel of Matthew is surpassed by the Gospel of Mark. This, however, is no objection to the genuineness of the Gospel. To write in a graphic manner depends upon the idiosyncrasy of the writer; ¹ and, as has been well remarked: "This is a phenomenon which meets us every day; it is not the contemporary and the eye-witness, but the historian of a succeeding age who takes the keenest interest in minute detail, and records with faithful accuracy the less prominent circumstances of a great event." ²

3. The want of chronological order is frequently adduced as an argument against the genuineness of Matthew's Gospel. We have already had occasion to advert to the chronological order of the evangelists.³ It is seldom that the three evangelists are at variance on this point. The most obvious case is the stilling of the storm and the cure of the Gadarene demoniac recorded by all three.⁴ In Matthew these incidents are stated as having occurred before our Lord had

¹ "It is," observes Dr. Davidson, "a weak argument to adduce the want of graphic description in one who was an eye-witness like Matthew. The power of vivid description is a talent which does not depend on an external call. . . . If the writer had not the gift of picturesqueness before he became an apostle, he did not get it afterwards." *Introduction to N.T.* 3rd ed. vol. i. p. 343.

² Carr's *Gospel of Matthew*, p. 11. He illustrates this by Macaulay's graphic description of the reign of James II.

³ See *supra*, p. 41.

⁴ Matt. viii. 23; Mark iv. 35; Luke viii. 22. See Norton, *Genuineness of the Gospels*, vol. i. pp. 293, 294.

delivered the parable of the Sower and the other kindred parables; whilst Mark and Luke reverse the order, and inform us that it was after our Lord had delivered these parables on "that day when the even was come that He said unto them, Let us go over unto the other side" (Mark iv. 35). But we cannot see how this is any objection against the genuineness of the Gospel; the difference is very slight and unimportant. The evangelists do not seek to follow a chronological order in their narrative; there are undoubtedly variations on this point between them. The order laid down in the Gospel of Mark is in general the order to which Matthew and Luke adhere; but it is doubtful if even this order is correct. Exact chronology was a mere secondary consideration with the evangelists.

4. It has further been objected that there are mythical incidents recorded in the Gospel of Matthew which render his whole narrative suspicious. The incidents alluded to are those which are stated to have occurred at the death of Christ—the rending of the vail of the temple, the earthquake, and the saints coming forth from their tombs (Matt. xxvii. 51–53). The rending of the vail of the temple is mentioned by the other two evangelists, so that it is to the resurrection of the saints, which is recorded by Matthew only, that the objection applies. Many admit the legendary nature of this incident, and suppose that it was not an original part of Matthew's Gospel, but an insertion by a later hand. Thus Meyer calls it "a mythical apocryphal addition," and supposes that the Greek editor of Matthew inserted it in translating from the Hebrew Matthew.¹ Similarly Norton observes: "The story must be regarded as a fable, probably one which, in common with others now utterly forgotten, was in circulation among the Hebrew converts after the destruction of Jerusalem. Some possessor of a manuscript of Matthew's Hebrew Gospel may be supposed to have noted it in the margin of his copy, whence it found its way into the text of others, one or more of which fell into the hands of the Greek translator."² There is, however, no critical ground to justify

¹ Meyer, *in loco*.

² Norton's *Genuineness of the Gospels*, vol. i. pp. 214, 215.

this supposition. The incident is omitted in no Greek manuscript. It is adverted to by Ignatius when, speaking of our Lord's descent into Hades, he says: "He whom they rightly waited for being come, raised them from the dead."¹ Others suppose that the passage is not to be understood literally, but symbolically, as an emblem of Christ's victory over death and the grave; but for this supposition there is no ground: it is recorded as part of a narrative. It is one of those supernatural incidents which meet us in every page of the Gospels. It is true that this wonderful and miraculous incident is only recorded by Matthew; but there are other supernatural events, equally wonderful, which are recorded in only one of the Gospels: as the raising of the son of the widow of Nain by Luke, and of Lazarus by John.

5. Another objection to the genuineness of the Gospel according to Matthew is, that there are in it frequent repetitions of the same events, showing that the author of the Gospel incorporated without revision two documents, each of which gave a narrative of the same incident. Thus Dr. Davidson observes: "Other particulars are wrongly narrated, as is the case with the miraculous feeding of the four thousand men in the wilderness very soon after a similar event (comp. xv. 32-38 with xiv. 16-21). In like manner, the same transaction is repeated in xii. 22-30 and ix. 32-34, which passages are so similar that we must assume a double narrative of the same event. A similar repetition of the same thing appears in xvi. 1, where the event in xii. 38 is re-enacted. The number of these duplicates is considerable, so much so as to show carelessness, forgetfulness, or needless accumulation of material."²

We have already alluded to this subject when we considered the existence of doublets in the Synoptic Gospels, and need not repeat what was then said.³ In the instances stated by Dr. Davidson there is a similarity, but not an identity of particulars. The two accounts of the miraculous feeding of

¹ Ignatius, *Ep. ad Magnes.* ch. ix. It is also referred to in the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus. Jones, *On the Canon*, vol. ii. p. 255.

² Davidson's *Introduction to the N.T.* vol. i. pp. 339, 340, 3rd ed.

³ See *supra*, p. 37.

the multitude differ in many points, in the amount of provisions, in the number fed, and in the quantity of fragments afterwards gathered; in the two miraculous cures, in the one case the man possessed with a devil was blind and dumb, in the other case he was only dumb but not blind; and the demand of the Pharisees for a sign from heaven might have been twice repeated, as such signs were regarded by them as the credentials of the Messiah.

II. THE AUTHOR OF THE GOSPEL.

Irenæus is the first Father who assigns our first Gospel to Matthew. We have an account of his call to the apostleship given us by all the Synoptists.¹ The name Matthew in Hebrew (מַתְתִּי) signifies the gift of Jehovah, similar to the Greek Θεόδωρος. In the list of the apostles given by Mark he is called "the son of Alphaeus" (Mark ii. 14), and as another apostle is called "James the son of Alphaeus" (Luke vi. 15), it is inferred that these apostles were brothers. Others, inferring from various indications in Scripture that Alphaeus is the same as Clopas the husband of Mary, the sister of the Virgin,² suppose that Matthew was nearly related to our Lord. And others from his frequent conjunction with Thomas, called Didymus or "the twin," that he was his brother. All these are idle conjectures. Matthew was by occupation a publican or tax-gatherer, a member of a class hated and despised by the Jews, as collectors of a hateful tax and standing memorials of their subjection to the Romans. Hence the phrase "publicans and sinners." As, however, Capernaum was in the province of Galilee, the dominion of Herod Antipas, it is not improbable that Matthew was an officer under that monarch, and not under the Romans. The promptitude with which he obeyed the call of Christ is an indication that there had been a previous preparation going on within him, and that he had been impressed with the teach-

¹ Matt. ix. 9-13; Mark ii. 14-17; Luke v. 27-32.

² The Apostle James the Less is mentioned as the son of Alphaeus (Mark iii. 18) and as the son of Mary (Mark xv. 40), supposed to be the same as Mary the wife of Cleophas or Clopas (John xix. 25).

ing of Jesus. Matthew made a great feast in honour of Christ, at which many publicans and sinners sat down with Jesus and His disciples.

In the account given by Mark and Luke, Levi appears as the name of the publican who was called;¹ whilst in the lists of the apostles given by the same evangelists the name is Matthew, without any notification that he is the same as Levi formerly mentioned.² Hence it has not unreasonably been inferred that we have the account of the call of two different persons, of Matthew who afterwards became an apostle, and of Levi who was only a disciple. Some suppose that Levi was a superintendent publican and that Matthew was his subordinate, and that our Lord called both at the same time. This distinction between Matthew and Levi was recognised by the Fathers. Clemens Alexandrinus, quoting from Heracleon the Gnostic, mentions Matthew, Philip, Thomas, Levi and many others who did not suffer martyrdom, but died a natural death.³ So also Origen in his answer to Celsus, who taunts the Christians with the low condition of the apostles, inasmuch as they were publicans and fishermen, observes that Matthew and Levi, or as he calls him Lebes (ὁ Λεβῆς), were publicans.⁴ The same opinion was held by Grotius, Michaelis, Neander, Sieffert, Hase, Hilgenfeld, and Reuss.⁵ As, however, the incidents are recorded by the three evangelists in almost precisely the same words, it is highly probable that their narratives relate to the same event; and consequently that the Levi of Mark and Luke is the same as the Matthew of Matthew's Gospel. The use of two names was not uncommon among the Jews at this time; for example, Simon was called Peter, Lebbæus was surnamed Thaddæus, Thomas was called Didymus, Joses was called Barnabas, John was surnamed Mark, Simon was called Niger, Judas was surnamed Barsabas, and Saul was also called Paul.

¹ Mark ii. 14; Luke v. 27.

² Mark iii. 16; Luke vi. 15.

³ Clemens Alex. *Strom.* iv. 9.

⁴ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, i. 62. It is, however, possible that by Lebes, Origen might intend the Apostle Lebbæus, Matt. x. 3.

⁵ De Wette's *Einleitung in das N.T.* § 97a.

We have hardly any notices of Matthew in the patristic writings and in ecclesiastical history, and what we have are of a legendary nature. Clemens Alexandrinus tells us that he led an ascetic life: "The Apostle Matthew partook of seeds and nuts and vegetables without flesh";¹ and he has preserved the following saying of Matthew recorded in some Gnostic writing: "They (the Gnostics) say in the traditions that Matthew the apostle constantly said, 'If the neighbour of an elect man sin, the elect man has sinned. For had he conducted himself as the Word prescribes, his neighbour also would have been filled with such reverence for the life he led as not to sin.'"² Eusebius informs us that Matthew, after he had preached the gospel to the Hebrews, that is, to the Jews in Palestine, went forth to other lands, but without mentioning any particular country.³ Socrates, in his Church history, says that he went to Ethiopia.⁴ Other writers mention Parthia, India, and Macedonia. Some affirm that he died a natural death, whilst Nicephorus states that he suffered martyrdom in Ethiopia.⁵

III. THE SOURCES OF THE GOSPEL.

It is a very difficult question to answer, Whence did Matthew obtain the materials out of which he formed his Gospel? We may distinguish three sources: 1. *Personal observation*. If the author of this Gospel was the Apostle Matthew, he would be one of the constant followers of Christ, a witness of many of His actions, and a listener to many of His discourses. He would also come into intimate contact with his fellow-apostles, and thus from their narratives would supplement his own. Matthew then would not be merely a compiler of the sayings or writings of others, but a narrator of what he himself saw and heard. 2. *Oral tradition*. This must have been the source of much of the Synoptic narratives. As we have already seen reason to

¹ Clemens Alex. *Prolog.* ii. 1.

² Clemens Alex. *Strom.* vii. 13.

³ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 24.

⁴ Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 19.

⁵ The Catholic Church keeps September 21st as the anniversary of his martyrdom. See Cave's *Lives of the Apostles*.

believe, that before anything was reduced to writing there was a certain stereotyped form of an oral Gospel which constituted the teaching of the apostles for the use of catechumens.

3. *Written documents.* We have stated that it is probable that at a very early period there were Gospel fragments. To the use of these written documents we attribute the great similarity that exists in many portions of the Synoptic Gospels. There was a historical framework common to all three. The account of the birth of our Lord, the visit of the Magi and the flight into Egypt, in the first two chapters of this Gospel, was probably an early document derived from Mary or from the brethren of our Lord, and treasured up by the primitive Church. The discourses and parables of our Lord were perhaps collections made of the sayings of Christ which would be distributed throughout the churches. We have also seen that it is extremely probable that Matthew made a free use of the previously written Gospel of Mark.

According to Papias, Matthew composed his oracles (λόγια) in the Hebrew language. We have already seen that the term λόγια is not to be restricted to the discourses of Jesus, but includes also the incidents of His life, in short, that it is equivalent to Gospel. It is, however, undoubtedly true that this Gospel, more than the other two, contains long discourses of our Lord, and in this particular resembles the Gospel of John; whether these discourses were delivered in full at one time, or whether they are collections of the sayings of Jesus delivered at different times. Examples of these are the Sermon on the Mount (v.—vii.), the apostolic commission (x.), the testimony concerning the Baptist (xi.), the series of early parables (xiii.), the characteristics of discipleship (xviii.), a second series of parables (xxi. 28—xxii. 14), disputes with the Pharisees and Sadducees (xxii. 15—40), the denunciation pronounced against the scribes and Pharisees (xxiii.), the prediction concerning the destruction of Jerusalem (xxiv.), and the so-called parables of the passion (xxv.). The designation λόγια, applied to the Gospel of Matthew, is highly appropriate. It is a plausible and attractive idea that these sayings or discourses of Jesus formed the original Gospel of Matthew, and that the other portions

were subsequent additions made by unknown editors.¹ Thus Weiss supposes that the discourses of Matthew formed the original Gospel, and were the groundwork of the three Synoptics. But such an idea is extremely problematic and incapable of proof. As already stated, the same style and language, the same favourite expressions, pervade the whole Gospel, and prove the unity of authorship. Matthew, it would appear, was a collector of the sayings of Jesus, and united in one discourse many utterances which were spoken at different times, and many parables which were delivered on different occasions. In all probability these collections were made by Matthew himself of the sayings of Jesus, which were either handed down by tradition, or existed in written documents, or were heard by himself. Matthew drew them from Galilean tradition, whether oral or written, or from actual knowledge.

IV. THE DESIGN OF THE GOSPEL.

It is the uniform testimony of the Fathers that Matthew wrote his Gospel for the use and benefit of the Hebrew Christians; that is, not only for those who were resident in Palestine, but for Jewish converts scattered throughout the world. Thus Origen, as quoted by Eusebius, observes: "Among the four Gospels, which are the only indisputable ones in the Churches of God, I have learnt by tradition that the first was written by Matthew, who was once a publican, but afterwards an apostle of Jesus Christ, and it was prepared for the converts from Judaism and published in the Hebrew language."² Its chief design was evidently to prove that Jesus was the Christ; that the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament received their accomplishment in Him. The

¹ View of Goulet, *New Testament Studies*, p. 20: "Some coadjutor of Matthew," he observes, "who had helped him in his work of evangelisation, undertook the labour of translating into Greek *the discourses* which had been drawn up by him in their original language, and to complete this work by distributing their contents through an evangelical narrative, complete in itself and conformable to the type of Christian instruction adopted by the apostles."

² Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 25.

genealogy of Jesus is traced back, not as in Luke's Gospel to Adam, the ancestor of the human race, but to David the Messianic king, and to Abraham the father of the Jewish nation. The Gospel commences with the words: "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ the son of David, the son of Abraham." In the Sermon on the Mount, where the principles of the religion of Jesus are enunciated, our Lord says that "He came not to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil them"; to impart to the commandments of the moral law a higher and more spiritual meaning. Jewish customs and localities are supposed to be known to the reader. Jerusalem is called the holy city, and Bethlehem the city of David. The teaching of Matthew's Gospel resembles that of the Epistle of James in regarding Christianity not as superseding Judaism, but as its development.

Hence the Gospel of Matthew, above all the other Gospels, is pervaded by the Old Testament; there are more than seventy quotations from it, or references to it. This Gospel is interwoven with proofs of the Messiahship of Jesus. His birth is foretold under the Messianic name, Emmanuel (i. 23); He is born in Bethlehem of Judæa, because so it was foretold by the prophets (ii. 6); He and His parents fled to Egypt, "that what was spoken by the prophets might be fulfilled" (ii. 15); the massacre of the children of Bethlehem took place, in fulfilment of the words spoken by Jeremiah the prophet (ii. 18); He came and dwelt in Nazareth, "that it might be fulfilled what was spoken by the prophet" (ii. 23); John the Baptist was His forerunner, as was foretold by the prophet Esaias (iii. 3, xi. 10); leaving Nazareth, He came and dwelt in Capernaum, that the words of Esaias the prophet might be accomplished (iv. 13, 14); He cured diseases, that that which was spoken by Esaias might be fulfilled (viii. 17); He was possessed of a meek and retiring disposition, according to the description of His character given by the same prophet (xii. 17-21); He taught the multitude in parables, as was foretold of Him (xiii. 35, 36); He entered Jerusalem in lowly triumph riding upon an ass, in accordance with the prediction of Zechariah (xxi. 4, 5); He appealed to the words of David,

in proof of His Messiahship (xxii. 41–45); at His apprehension all His disciples forsook Him, in fulfilment of the prophet's statement (xxvi. 31); He was sold for thirty pieces of silver, the exact sum stated by the prophet (xxvii. 9); the soldiers who crucified Him parted His garments among them, and thus unconsciously fulfilled the statement of the prophet (xxvii. 35); and on the cross, in the hour of His agony, He appropriated to Himself the words of the prophetic Psalmist (xxvii. 46). The formula, "that it might be fulfilled" (ὅπως πληρωθῇ), occurs eight times in this Gospel.¹ The life of Jesus is recorded as the fulfilment of prophecy; He is portrayed as the great Messianic King, to whom all the prophets bear witness, and in whose life their predictions received their accomplishment.²

V. THE LANGUAGE OF THE GOSPEL.

The subject which we have now to discuss is one of extreme difficulty. In what language was the Gospel of Matthew written? Was it Hebrew, that is, Aramaic,³ or Greek? The difficulty consists in the conflict between the external and internal evidences: the former being in favour of an original Aramaic Gospel, and the latter tending to show that the Gospel of Matthew, as we now possess it, must have been written in Greek, and cannot be a translation. There is no difficulty in believing that some of the documentary sources of the Synoptic Gospels may have been written in Aramaic; but the question is, Was there an original Aramaic Gospel, of which the canonical Gospel of

¹ Matt. i. 22, ii. 15, 23, viii. 17, xii. 17, xiii. 35, xxi. 4, xxvii. 35.

² "Matthew desired to set forth Jesus to the Jews as their very Christ; the Legislator of a new and spiritual law; the King of a new and spiritual dominion; the Prophet of a new and universal Church; the divine Messiah who should soon resolve all doubts, returning in the clouds of heaven to judge and save." Farrar, *The Messages of the Books*, p. 40.

³ We frequently use the term Hebrew, because it is so used in Scripture and in the writings of the Fathers; but the vernacular language was Aramaic or Syro-Chaldaic, a cognate language, resembling Talmudic Hebrew, and substantially the same as that in which part of the Books of Ezra and Daniel are written.

Matthew is the translation? And with this is closely connected another important question, What was the nature of the "Gospel according to the Hebrews" used by the Hebrew-speaking Christians, so often referred to and quoted by the Fathers, and which has for centuries been lost?¹ Was it, as many critics suppose, the original Aramaic Gospel of Matthew, of which ours is only the translation?

With regard to the language of the Gospel of Matthew, the external evidence is entirely in favour of an original Hebrew Gospel. The testimonies of the Fathers are unanimous. Papias (A.D. 120), in the passage preserved by Eusebius, so often quoted, and which has proved so fruitful of conjectures, writes: "Matthew wrote the oracles in the Hebrew dialect, and everyone translated them as he was able."² We have endeavoured to show that by the "oracles" is most probably meant the Gospel;³ and if so, we have in this testimony of Papias an assertion of its Hebrew origin. "Everyone," he says, that is, every Greek Christian who was ignorant of Hebrew, "translated them as best he could." Irenæus (A.D. 180) writes: "Matthew published his Gospel among the Hebrews in their own dialect."⁴ Eusebius relates that Pantænus (A.D. 200), the chief of the catechetical school of Alexandria, having gone to the Indians to diffuse the Christian religion, found among them the Gospel of Matthew; for Bartholomew, one of the apostles, had before his arrival preached the gospel to them, and left with them the writings of Matthew in the Hebrew language, which they had preserved till that time.⁵ The same statement is made by Jerome.⁶ Origen (A.D. 230), in a passage preserved by

¹ Considering the remarkable discoveries which have lately been made, there is nothing extravagant in supposing that this Gospel of the Hebrews may yet be found. This would be of great importance, would solve many difficulties, and throw a flood of light on the Synoptic problem.

² Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 39. *Vide supra*, p. 19.

³ *Vide supra*, p. 65.

⁴ Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* iii. 1; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 8: ὁ μὲν δὲ Ματθαῖος ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν καὶ γραφὴν ἐξήνεγκεν εὐαγγελίου.

⁵ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 10: Ἑβραίων γράμμασι.

⁶ *De Vir. Illustr.* ch. xxxvi.

Eusebius, writes: "Among the four Gospels, which are the only indisputable ones in the Church of God, I have learnt by tradition that the first was written by Matthew, who was once a publican, but afterwards an apostle of Jesus Christ, who delivered it to the Jewish believers, composed in the Hebrew language."¹ Eusebius (A.D. 325) also attests the Hebrew original of Matthew's Gospel. "For Matthew having first preached to the Hebrews, when he was about to go to other nations delivered to them the Gospel in their native tongue."² Cyril of Jerusalem (A.D. 345) says: "Matthew, the author of the Gospel, wrote it in the Hebrew language."³ Epiphanius (A.D. 348) writes: "They (the Ebionites) also receive the Gospel according to Matthew, and this is the only one they use. They call it the Gospel according to the Hebrews: for the truth is that Matthew is the only one of the New Testament writers who published his Gospel in the Hebrew language and in Hebrew characters."⁴ Augustine (A.D. 380) observes: "Of these four (evangelists) only Matthew is reckoned to have written in the Hebrew language; the others in Greek."⁵

But the most important testimony is that of Jerome (A.D. 390), both on account of his intimate acquaintance with Hebrew, and on account of the minuteness of his statement. He not only asserts that Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew, but that he himself possessed a copy of it, and translated it into Greek. "Matthew, also called Levi, who from being a publican became an apostle, first of all wrote a Gospel of Christ in Judæa in Hebrew letters and words for the sake of those of the circumcised who believed. Who afterwards translated it into Greek is uncertain. Moreover, this very Hebrew Gospel is in the library at Cæsarea, which was collected with great care by Pamphilus the martyr. With permission of the Nazarenes, who live at Bercea in Syria, and use that volume, I took a copy."⁶ And again: "The

¹ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 25: *ῥωμάμασιν Ἑβραϊκοῖς συνεταγμένον.*

² *Ibid.* iii. 24.

³ *Catechet.* 14.

⁴ Epiphanius, *Hær.* xxx. 3.

⁵ *Consensus evangelistorum*, i. 2. 4.

⁶ *De Vir. Illustr.* ch. iii.: Matthæus, qui et Levi, ex publicano Apostolus, primus in Judæa propter eos qui ex circumcisione credi-

Gospel which the Nazarenes and Ebionites use, which we lately translated from Hebrew into Greek, and which is called by most the authentic Gospel of Matthew.”¹ The testimony of the later Fathers, of Chrysostom, Athanasius, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Theophylact, are to the same effect.

Thus, then, the external evidence is entirely in favour of an original Hebrew Gospel of Matthew. All the Fathers, from Papias to Jerome, and from Jerome to Theophylact, attest that Matthew wrote his Gospel in Aramaic, and that the Greek Gospel, which we now possess, is only a translation. Nor is there any contrary testimony; not one of the Fathers speaks of an original Greek Gospel. “No matter of fact,” observes Greswell, “which rests upon the faith of testimony can be considered certain, if this is not so.”² Bishop Westcott writes: “Till it can be shown that the writers quoted are untrustworthy generally, it is purely arbitrary to reject their statement because it is not sufficiently explicit.”³ And Tregelles observes: “If early testimonies and ancient opinion unitedly are to have some weight, when wholly uncontradicted, then it must be admitted that the original language of the Gospel of Matthew was *Hebrew*, and that the text which has been transmitted to us is really a Greek translation.”⁴ Besides, it is to be observed that there is an antecedent probability that Matthew would write his Gospel in Hebrew. If he wrote chiefly for the Hebrew Christians, and if Hebrew was the vernacular language of Palestine, as we shall afterwards see was most probably the case, then the probability is that he would write in that language.

derant Evangelium Christi Hebraicis literis verbisque composuit; quod quis postea in Græcum transtulerit, non satis certum est. Porro ipsum Hebraicum habetur usque hodie in Cæsariensi bibliotheca, quam Pamphilus martyr studiosissime confecit. Mihi quoque a Nazareis qui in Berœa urbe Syriæ hoc volumine utuntur, describendi facultas fuit.

¹ *Comment. ad Matth. xii. 13*: Evangelium quo utuntur Nazareni et Ebionitæ, quod nuper in Græcum de Hebræo sermone transtulimus et quod vocatur a plerisque Matthæi authenticum.

² Greswell's *Harmony of the Gospels*, vol. i. p. 101.

³ Westcott, *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, p. 208, note 2.

⁴ Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. iii. p. 1623. Article, “Versions, Ancient (Greek).”

Nevertheless, this evidence, apparently so strong and unanimous, has been disputed by the majority of modern critics. Papias, it is said, is described by Eusebius as a man of very limited understanding,¹ and certainly many of his statements recorded by Eusebius seem to prove this; that, however, is no reason why we should refuse credence to his assertion of a matter of fact, that Matthew wrote his oracles in Hebrew. Irenæus, it is suggested, may have founded his opinion on the testimony of Papias, whom he held in high estimation: but for this there is no proof; it is a mere conjecture. The statement about Pantænus, given by Eusebius, has been discredited as mythical; it is, however, a statement independent of Papias: and if it be a legend, yet it presupposes the prevalence of the belief in a Hebrew Gospel. Origen, the only one of the Fathers before the fourth century who was skilled in Hebrew, and thus qualified to judge, gives his testimony as a tradition: “he had learned by tradition (ὡς ἐν παραδόσει μαθὼν) that Matthew wrote in Hebrew”; but this tradition presupposed the prevalent belief regarding a Hebrew Gospel in the time of Origen. The strongest testimony is that of Jerome. He affirms that he had the Hebrew Gospel in his possession; and not only so, but that he took a copy of it and translated it into Greek. An attempt has been made to neutralise this statement. It has been asserted that if this Hebrew Gospel was the same as our Greek Gospel of Matthew, there would have been no reason for its translation. It would appear, besides, that Jerome vacillated in his opinion. At first, when he obtained possession of the Gospel of the Nazarenes, he believed that it was the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew; but afterwards, when he came to examine and translate it, he expresses himself hesitatingly, and gives his judgment in a modified form. “The Gospel which the Nazarenes and Ebionites use is called by most (*a plerisque*) the authentic Gospel of Matthew.”² “The Gospel

¹ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 39: σφόδρα σμικρὸς ὢν τὸν νοῦν φαίνεται. Elsewhere, indeed, Eusebius says: “Papias was well known as a man skilled in all manner of learning, and well acquainted with the Scriptures,” iii. 36. But this sentence is now regarded as spurious.

² *Comment. ad. Matth.*

according to the Hebrews, written in the Syro-Chaldaic language, but in Hebrew characters, which the Nazarenes use, is by most supposed (*ut plerique autumant*) to be the Gospel according to Matthew.”¹ Now, it is admitted that there is some ambiguity in the language of Jerome, and that he appears to have confounded the Gospel of Matthew with the Gospel according to the Hebrews, regarding them as the same. But, notwithstanding this ambiguity, which certainly weakens his testimony, he still holds to the opinion that the original Gospel of Matthew was written in Hebrew. The relation of these two Gospels—the Gospel according to the Hebrews and the Gospel of Matthew—is reserved to form the subject of future consideration, in order not to interrupt the course of this discussion.

But whilst the external evidence, as contained in the testimonies of the Fathers, is wholly in favour of an original Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, the internal evidence is to the contrary effect; and it has been affirmed that the Gospel of Matthew, as we now possess it, must have been an original document, and could not have been a translation. Some of the arguments in proof of this are not convincing, but others are undeniably strong.

1. It is affirmed that from its nature the Greek text of our Gospel cannot have been a translation from the Hebrew. It bears no marks of being a translation: the style is clear and flowing, without the slightest stiffness, bearing the impress of originality. There are in it numerous explanations of Jewish customs which would have been unnecessary had the Gospel been written in Hebrew for Hebrew converts. Thus: “On that day came to Him Sadducees, who say that there is no resurrection” (xxii. 23). “That field was called, The field of blood, unto this day” (xxvii. 8). “Now at the feast the governor was wont to release unto the multitude one prisoner, whom they would” (xxvii. 15). “This saying was spread abroad among the Jews, and continueth until this day” (xxviii. 15). Further, if the Gospel was written originally in Aramaic, there would have been little use of a Syriac translation, as it would be understood by the Syrian Chris-

¹ *Dialog. adv. Pelagianos*, iii. 2.

tians; or at least the Syriac translation would have been made from it, and not from the Greek, which on this hypothesis was itself a translation. "We have," observes Professor Moses Stuart of America, "the Peshito, a version of a very early age, in a language which was twin-sister to the Hebrew of that day, yea, almost identical with it: and yet this version is demonstrably not from a *Hebrew* original of Matthew, but from the present Greek canonical Matthew." Besides, it is the present Greek text that is uniformly quoted or referred to by the Fathers, and that at a period so early as the time when the Epistle of Barnabas was written (A.D. 100). There are also paronomasiæ, or plays on Greek words, which could hardly occur in a translation, as *κακούς κακῶς ἀπολέσει* (xxi. 41), *ἀφανίζουσι ὅπως φανῶσι* (vi. 16).

To these objections it is answered: that the excellence of the translation may remove all traces of its having been written in a foreign language; that the explanation of Jewish customs was necessary for those Jewish converts who lived outside of Palestine and used the Hebrew language; that the Fathers quoted from the Greek because it was before them, whilst they may not have seen the Hebrew original, which might not have been circulated beyond Palestine: and that paronomasiæ are very few, and may occur in translations as well as in the original. We have a remarkable instance of a paronomasia in the Authorised Version of Jas. i. 6: "But let him ask in faith, nothing wavering; for he that wavereth (*δακρινόμενος*) is like a wave (*κλύδωνι*) of the sea driven with the wind and tossed."¹

2. There are in the Gospel of Matthew several Aramaic expressions, the translations of which are subjoined. Thus: "They shall call His name Immanuel, which is, being interpreted, God with us" (i. 23). "They came unto a place called Golgotha, that is to say, The place of a skull" (xxvii. 33). "Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani? that is, My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?" (xxvii. 46). These Aramaic expressions may have been preserved in the Greek Gospel on account of their weighty character; but the interpretation of them could not have formed part of a Hebrew

¹ So also in Rom. ii. 18.

original. To this objection, two answers are given: The translation of these Aramaic expressions may have at first been put as a marginal note for the information of Greek readers, and afterwards have been inserted in the text. For this, however, there is no critical authority, as they are found in all manuscripts. Or the translator of the Hebrew original might himself have given the interpretation; a supposition which is not improbable.

3. A far more formidable objection to a Hebrew original arises from the fact that there is often an identity between the Greek of Matthew's Gospel and the Greek of the Gospels of Mark and Luke. This, it is evident, could not possibly have been the case if the Greek Gospel of Matthew was an independent translation. A Hebrew original of Matthew may account for a variation in his Gospel in the narrative of the same events and discourses contained in the other Gospels, but the agreement in expression is a proof that the Gospel of Matthew could not be an independent translation. If Matthew and Luke use precisely the same words, as is often the case, it is a proof that both had the same Greek source before them.

Here, undoubtedly, there is an objection to an original Hebrew Gospel of great force, and the answers given to it are somewhat unsatisfactory. Meyer gives the following answer: "The frequent identity of expression in Matthew with Mark and Luke does not necessarily point to an original composition of the former in Greek, but leaves the question quite unaffected, as the translated Matthew might either have been made use of by the later Synoptics, or might even have originated from the use of the latter, or of common sources."¹ According to this distinguished critic, either Mark and Luke may have made use of the translation of Matthew, or the translator of Matthew may have used these Gospels, or all three may have drawn from common sources. But none of these suppositions can be correct. The Gospel of Luke, we have seen, was independent of that of Matthew;² and to suppose that the translator of the Hebrew Matthew drew from the

¹ Meyer's *Commentary on Matthew*, p. 10, translation.

² See *supra*, p. 50.

same common source as Luke, may not indeed be an impossible, but is a highly improbable supposition, and detracts from the value and accuracy of the translation.

Some attempt to solve this difficulty, arising from the conflict between the external and internal evidences regarding the language of Matthew's Gospel, by the assumption that Matthew wrote two editions of his Gospel, the one in Hebrew, for the use of Christians who spoke Hebrew, and the other in Greek, for the use of Christians who spoke Greek. This hypothesis of a twofold Gospel of Matthew is of comparatively recent origin, and has no support from the writings of the Fathers, who never attribute the translation of the Gospel to Matthew himself. It is, however, very plausible and not indefensible, because, if adopted, it at once reconciles the declarations of the Fathers concerning an original Hebrew Matthew with the proofs that our present Gospel was written in Greek; the external and internal evidences are brought into agreement.¹ Such a theory, with various modifications, has been adopted by such distinguished critics as Bengel, Schott, Olshausen, Thiersch, Guericke, and Schaff; and among English theologians by Townson, Whitby, Benson, Bloomfield, Horne, Archdeacon Lee,² and Bishop Ellicott. Thus Schaff writes: "If we credit the well-nigh unanimous tradition of the ancient Church concerning a prior Hebrew Matthew, we must either ascribe the Gospel of Matthew to some unknown translator who took certain liberties with the original, or what seems most probable, we must assume that Matthew himself, at different periods of his life, wrote his Gospel first in Hebrew, in Palestine, and afterwards in Greek. In doing so, he would not literally translate his own book, but, like other historians, freely reproduce and improve it. Josephus did the same with his history of the Jewish war, of which the Greek only

¹ If we cannot positively assent to its truth, yet neither can we reject it, but, on the contrary, may favourably entertain it as a solution of difficulties. "There seems," observes Dr. Townson, "more reason for allowing two originals than for contesting either: the consent of antiquity pleading strongly for the Hebrew, and evident marks of originality for the Greek."

² Dr Lee, *Inspiration of the Holy Scripture*, pp. 566-574.

remains.¹ When the Greek Matthew once was current in the Church, it naturally superseded the Hebrew, especially if it was more complete.”²

Others, admitting that Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew, in order to give apostolic authority to the translation, assign it to different apostles. Thus the author of the *Synopsis Scripturæ sacræ*, in Athanasius’ works, assigns it to James; Theophylact, to John; Anastasius Sinaita supposes that Paul and Luke conjointly translated the Gospel into Greek. Gresswell makes the strange supposition that Mark was the translator of the Hebrew Matthew.³ All these are mere fanciful conjectures. Another opinion is that the *λόγια* or oracles of Matthew mentioned by Papias was not the Gospel of Matthew, but another work of his written in Hebrew, containing chiefly discourses of our Lord, which he afterwards translated and embodied in his Gospel written in Greek.⁴

It is exceedingly difficult to arrive at any certain conclusion as the result of this discussion. On the one hand, the external evidence in favour of an original Hebrew Gospel is uniform and undisputed: the Fathers are unanimous on this point, and there is no contrary testimony. But, on the other hand, the internal evidence in favour of an original Greek Gospel is so strong and apparently so convincing, that were it not for the external evidence it would hardly have been doubted. The attempt to overthrow the external evidence by asserting that the Fathers, following the assertion of Papias, were mistaken, is a violent solution; the testimony of Origen, for example, cannot in this manner be set aside. A possible solution may be that the Gospel according to the

¹ So also Ilme wrote his excellent history of the Romans both in German and in English. They were separate works: the English was not a translation of the German.

² Schaff’s *Church History*, vol. i. p. 626.

³ Gresswell’s *Dissertations*, vol. i. p. 122. He gives it as his conjecture that “Mark translated the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, and wrote his own supplementary to it, either both at Rome, or both about the same time.”

⁴ For this ingenious supposition, see Morison’s *Commentary on Matthew*, Introduction, pp. xlv f.

Hebrews may have been originally the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, but afterwards became much altered from its original form by interpolations and omissions. In general, greater weight must be given to the external evidence which relates to matters of fact than to the internal evidence which, for the most part, rests on subjective considerations.

Critics are nearly equally divided upon this question. Grotius, Eichhorn, Kuinoel, Michaelis, Sieffert, Tholuck, Olshausen, Meyer, Ebrard, Godet, Lange, and Luthardt; and among English theologians, Walton, Mill, Principal Campbell of Aberdeen, Greswell, Norton (of America), Tregelles, Cureton, Dr. Samuel Davidson, and Westcott, maintain the Hebrew original of the Gospel. Whilst the Greek original is maintained by Erasmus,¹ Beza, Wetstein, Hug, Credner, De Wette, Ewald, Bleek, Tischendorf, Holtzmann, Zahn, and Weiss; and among English writers by John Lightfoot, Lardner, Jones, Moses Stuart (of America), Archbishop Thomson, Alford, Morison, Roberts, and Salmon.

Another important point, intimately related to this discussion, remains to be considered: the nature of the Gospel according to the Hebrews (*εὐαγγέλιον καθ' Ἑβραίων*), and its relation to the Gospel of Matthew. Many critics suppose that this Gospel, divested of its apocryphal additions, and having its omissions restored, was the original Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, and that our canonical Gospel is a translation of it before it was mutilated. Undoubtedly such a Gospel was in use among the Hebrew-speaking converts at a very early period. It is often quoted by the Fathers, and was held in estimation among them, being sometimes cited as Scripture. It occurs under various names, as "the Gospel of the Ebionites," "the Gospel of the Nazarenes," and "the Gospel of the Twelve Apostles." Its origin is obscure. Some suppose that it is cited by Ignatius in his Epistle to the Smyrneans, when, in opposition to the Docetic conception of our Lord's body, he says that our Lord, after His resurrection, said to His disciples: "Lay hold, handle Me, and see

¹ Erasmus appears to have been the first to suggest that Greek was the original language of the Gospel of Matthew.

that I am not an incorporeal demon.”¹ Eusebius states that he knew not whence Ignatius derived his information;² but, according to Jerome, it was a quotation from the Gospel of the Nazarenes.³ The probability, however, is that the reference is to Luke xxiv. 39: “Handle, and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye behold Me having.” Eusebius informs us that Papias gives us an account of a woman who had been accused of many sins before the Lord, which is contained in the Gospel according to the Hebrews.⁴ It is to be observed that Eusebius does not here affirm that Papias quoted this statement from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, but merely that such a statement is to be found in that Gospel. The first direct testimony to the existence of such a Gospel is contained in the somewhat ambiguous statement of Eusebius concerning Hegesippus (A.D. 180). “He (Hegesippus) states some particulars from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and from a Syriac Gospel, and particularly from the Hebrew language, showing that he himself was a convert from the Hebrews.”⁵ Irenæus (A.D. 180) states that the Ebionites used the Gospel according to Matthew only, and repudiated the Apostle Paul, maintaining that he was an apostate from the law.⁶ In these words of Irenæus we have an evident reference to the Gospel of the Ebionites (the same as the Gospel according to the Hebrews), which was attributed to Matthew. It was accordingly in existence in the time of Irenæus, and appears to have been regarded by him as the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew. Clemens Alexandrinus writes: “Matthew, in the traditions exhorting us, says, Wonder at what is before you, laying this (namely, wonder) down as the foundation of all further knowledge. So also in the Gospel to the Hebrews it is written, He that wonders shall reign, and he that has reigned shall rest.”⁷

¹ Ignatius, *Ep. ad Smyr.* ch. iii. δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον.

² Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 36.

³ *De viris illustr.* ch. xvi.

⁴ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 39.

⁵ *Ibid.* iv. 22: ἔκ τε τοῦ καθ' Ἑβραίου εὐαγγελίου καὶ τοῦ Συριακοῦ καὶ ἰδίως ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραϊδος διαλέκτου τινὰ τίθησιν. The exact meaning of the words is very difficult to determine. May it not be that Hegesippus alludes to the Syriac version?

⁶ Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* i. 26. 2.

⁷ Clemens Alex. *Stromata*, ii. 9.

Origen speaks of this Gospel in doubtful terms: "If anyone admit the Gospel according to the Hebrews."¹ "It is written in a certain Gospel, which is entitled, 'according to the Hebrews,' if anyone please to receive it, not as of authority, but for illustration."² Eusebius classes it among the *νόθοι* or spurious writings: "In this number some have placed the Gospel according to the Hebrews, with which those of the Hebrews who have received Christ are particularly delighted."³

The strict Jewish Christians, who held that the law of Moses was not abolished, but still binding on all Christians, and who refused to hold communion with the Gentile converts, separated of their own accord from the Catholic Church, soon after the destruction of Jerusalem, or were cast out. They are known in ecclesiastical history as Ebionites.⁴ Irenæus is the first who mentions this sect: "Those who are called Ebionites agree that the world was made by God; but their opinions with respect to the Lord are similar to those of Cerinthus and Carpocrates. They practise circumcision, persevere in the observance of the customs which are enjoined by the law, and are so Judaic in their style of life that they even adore Jerusalem, as if it were the house of God."⁵ After their separation from the Catholic Church, they adopted various heretical opinions. They held low views of Christ, denied His divinity, regarding Him as the son of Mary born in wedlock, and rejected the Epistles of Paul. There seems, however, to have been at an early period a diversity of opinion among them. Thus Origen observes: "Let it be admitted that there are some who accept Jesus, and who boast on that account of being Christians, and yet would regulate their lives like the Jewish multitude in accordance with the Jewish law, and these are the twofold sect of the Ebionites, who either acknowledge with us that Jesus was born of a virgin, or deny this, and

¹ *Comment. ad Joann.*

² Origen on Matt. xix. 19.

³ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 25.

⁴ According to Tertullian, the Ebionites were the disciples of a heretic called Ebion; but it is more probable that the word is an appellative meaning *poor*.

⁵ *Adv. Hær.* i. 26. 2. So also Hippolytus, *Refutat. omn. hær.* vii. 22.

maintain that He was begotten like other human beings.”¹ And the same distinction is made by Eusebius: “The Ebionites,” he observes, “hold poor and mean opinions concerning Christ. They considered Him a plain and common man, who was justified only because of His superior virtue. There are others besides them who were of the same name, but avoided the absurdity of these opinions, not denying that the Lord was born of a virgin.”² Epiphanius is the first Father who calls these two classes by different names: those who held heretical opinions concerning the person of Christ he terms Ebionites, and those who held comparatively orthodox views he terms Nazarenes.³ Probably the heretical views of the Ebionites were of later growth, as Justin describes the strict Jewish Christians only as weak brethren who had not attained to the liberty of the Gospel.⁴ In accordance with this difference of opinion, there appear to have been two recensions of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, the one called the Gospel of the Ebionites, and the other the Gospel of the Nazarenes;⁵ and there is also a difference in the quotations from them as given by Jerome and Epiphanius. It was the Gospel of the Nazarenes that Jerome translated.

Mr. Nicholson, in his learned work, *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*,⁶ supposes that it was written by Matthew, and that he also wrote the Greek Gospel that bears his name. The one was an edition of the other, just as modern authors publish editions of their works, often much altered. “My

¹ *Contra Celsum*, v. 61.

² *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 27. These two classes are to be identified with the Ebionites and Nazarenes. See De Wette's *Einleitung*, § 63a.

³ *Her.* xxx. 3. 13.

⁴ *Dial. cum Tryph.* ch. xlvii.

⁵ According to a statement of Epiphanius, the language of the Ebionite Gospel would appear to have been Greek, *Her.* xxx. 3. 13, an opinion adopted by Hilgenfeld. This, however, is very doubtful. The language of the Nazarene Gospel was undoubtedly Hebrew.

⁶ This is a work of great erudition which has been too much overlooked. In it there is a most valuable collection of all the fragments of this Gospel, scattered throughout the writings of the Fathers, with valuable critical annotations. He gives thirty-three fragments, many of them of a highly interesting character. See also Anger in his *Synopsis Evangeliorum*.

hypothesis," he observes, "is that Matthew wrote at *different times* the canonical Gospel and the Gospel according to the Hebrews, or at least that large part of the latter which runs parallel with the former."¹ Afterwards, as he supposes, the Gospel of the Hebrews became corrupted with additions,² abbreviations, and heretical views; but in its original state it was the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew.

It would certainly appear that the Gospel of Matthew lies at the foundation of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, whether in its corrupt state as used by the Ebionites, or in its comparatively pure state as used by the Nazarenes. For this we have the distinct testimonies of Epiphanius and Jerome. The Ebionite Gospel, or the Gospel of the Hebrews in its corrupt form, as is evident from the extracts from it and references to it contained in the writings of the Fathers, is clearly heretical, and is to be classed among the spurious Gospels, being a mutilation of the Gospel of Matthew, just as the Gospel of Marcion was a mutilation of the Gospel of Luke. On the other hand, Epiphanius informs us that the Nazarenes had the Gospel of Matthew in a comparatively complete form in Hebrew.³ The question then naturally arises: Might not this Gospel of the Hebrews, as preserved by the Nazarenes in its original state, when divested of its accretions and with its omissions restored, be the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew attested by the Fathers, and which was lost after its translation into Greek? This, however, is exceedingly doubtful, as the fragments of it which remain are additions which find no place in our canonical Gospel.⁴

Some of these additions found in the writings of the

¹ *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*, p. 104.

² Many of these extra canonical additions Mr. Nicholson defends, and supposes to be genuine.

³ τὸ κατὰ Ματθ. εὐαγγέλιον πλεονέσσει.

⁴ For a most interesting list of these fragments, see Nicholson's *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, pp. 28-77; Resch's *Agrapha*, pp. 322-342; Westcott's *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, pp. 433-438; Salmon's *Introduction to the Study of the N.T.* pp. 208 ff. The Gospel of the Hebrews with these extra canonical additions must be of a later origin than the Gospel of Matthew. See Abbott's article on the Gospels, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. x. p. 818, note.

Fathers are of an interesting nature. We give a few examples. The man with the withered arm is described as a mason, who came to Jesus saying: "I am a mason, seeking a livelihood by the labour of my hands. I pray thee, Jesus, to restore me to health, that I may not beg my bread."¹ The Holy Spirit is called "the mother of Christ." The Lord is introduced as saying: "My mother, the Holy Ghost, lately took Me by one of the hairs of My head and carried Me to the great mountain Tabor."² The account of the rich man who came to Jesus asking, What must I do to inherit eternal life, is thus expanded: "Another rich man said unto Him, Master what good thing must I do to live? He said to Him, Fulfil the law and the prophets. He answered Him, I have fulfilled them. He said to him, Go, sell all that thou hast, and distribute to the poor, and come follow Me. But the rich man began to scratch his head, for it pleased him not. Then said the Lord to him, How sayest thou I have fulfilled the law and the prophets, seeing that it is written, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself; and behold many of thy brethren, the sons of Abraham, are clothed in filth, and dying from hunger, whilst thy house is full of much goods, and nothing goes out of it. And He turned and said to Simon, sitting beside Him, Simon, son of Jonas, it is easier for a camel to enter through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven."³ It is in this Gospel that the legend of our Lord's appearance to James is found. It is given as follows: "And when the Lord had given His linen cloth to the servant of the high priest, He went to James and appeared to him. For James had taken an oath that he would not eat bread from that hour on which he had drunk the cup of the Lord until He saw Him risen from the dead. Then our Lord said, Bring a table and bread. And He took the bread, and blessed, and brake it, and gave

¹ This is found in Jerome, *ad Matth.* xii. 13. See Resch's *Agrapha*, p. 379; Nicholson, p. 46.

² Found in Origen, *Comm. ad. Johann.* § 63. See Nicholson, pp. 74-76.

³ This passage is found in the Latin version of Origen's commentary on St. Matthew; see Resch's *Agrapha*, p. 387; Wescott's *Introduction to the Gospels*, p. 434; Nicholson's *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, pp. 49-51; Salmon's *Introduction*, p. 213.

it to James the Just, saying, Eat thy bread, My brother, for the Son of Man is risen from the dead.”¹

Another important point, intimately connected with the subject under discussion, regards the language spoken in Palestine in the days of Christ and His apostles. Hug was among the first to maintain that the prevailing language of Judæa and Galilee at this time was not Aramaic but Greek, and that, consequently, if Matthew wrote his Gospel to the Jews in Palestine, he must have done so in Greek.² This opinion has recently been maintained with much learning and ingenuity by Professor Roberts of St. Andrews. He thus states his theory: “What I maintain is that Greek was the language which our Lord and His followers habitually used in their public addresses.” “While it is generally said that our Lord *for the most part* spoke in Hebrew and only sometimes in Greek, what I venture to maintain is that our Lord spoke for the most part in Greek and only now and then in Hebrew.”³ Now, certainly it must be admitted that Greek was commonly used in Palestine in the time of our Lord. The conquests of Alexander, the policy of the Roman government, the intercourse with Greek Jews who came to worship at the annual festivals, and the Hellenic tendency of the Herodian family, must have diffused the Greek language. There were numerous Greek cities scattered throughout all Palestine, especially in the province of Galilee, called on that account Galilee of the Gentiles.⁴ Greek was the language in which legal proceedings were carried on by the Roman government, and must have been used in commercial transactions with foreigners. It was doubtless the language in which our Lord spoke before Pilate. At the same time, we can hardly assume that Greek was the prevailing language. Palestine appears at this time to have been bilingual; both Hebrew and Greek were spoken;

¹ This tradition is found in Jerome's *De vir. illustr.* ii. For remarks on it, see Resch's *Agrapha*, p. 421, and Nicholson, pp. 62-88. Compare 1 Cor. xv. 7.

² Hug's *Introduction to the N.T.* vol. ii. p. 54 ff.

³ Roberts, *Greek the Language of Christ and His Apostles*, pp. 15, 16.

⁴ Casarea, Ptolemais, Scythopolis, Pella, Tiberius, Casarea Philippi, Samaria, Antipatris were Greek cities.

Hebrew probably by the country people, and Greek by the educated and those residing in towns; as is the case with the Celtic and English in the Highlands of Scotland, and with the Welsh and English in Wales. Paul in addressing the Jewish mob in Jerusalem, spoke to them in the Hebrew tongue, in consequence of which he was heard with greater attention (Acts xxii. 2). And in his address before Agrippa he mentions that the voice which came from heaven at his conversion addressed him in the Hebrew tongue (Acts xxvi. 14). The few words of our Lord which have been preserved are Aramaic, apparently intimating that this was the language in which He generally spoke: as Cephas, Boanerges, Ephphatha, Talitha-cumi, and the exclamation on the cross, Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani. So also we learn the same use of Hebrew by the people from the writings of Josephus. He wrote his history first in Hebrew, which he calls his native language, and then in Greek. "I propose," he says, "to narrate in the Greek language to those under the Roman dominion the things which I formerly composed for the barbarians of the interior in my native tongue."¹ And whilst he calls Hebrew his native tongue (πάτριος γλώσσα), he speaks of Greek as a foreign language (ξένη διάλεκτος).² When, at the request of Titus, he addressed his countrymen, it was in Hebrew: "Josephus, standing where he could be heard, declared the message of the emperor in Hebrew."³ From all this it would appear that although Greek was well known to the Jews, and they could converse in it, yet their native language, that which they usually employed in mutual intercourse, was not Greek but Aramaic, called in Scripture "their language" (Acts i. 19).⁴

We have already had occasion to refer to the style and diction of Matthew. There is a frequent recurrence of peculiar expressions. The phrase, "that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophets," is of constant

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* Preface. ² *Ant.* Preface. ³ *Bell. Jud.* vi. 2. 1.

⁴ For the extent to which Greek was spoken in Palestine, see Schürer's *Jewish People in the Time of Christ*, div. ii. vol. i. pp. 47 ff. He comes to the conclusion that the lower classes in Palestine possessed either no knowledge, or only an insufficient one, of Greek.

occurrence. The expression, "the Son of David," the Messianic title of our Lord, occurs eight times. 'Ο λεγόμενος is a favourite expression, announcing the meaning of the epithets applied to Christ and His disciples. "The kingdom of heaven" is used in this Gospel instead of "the kingdom of God" employed by the other Synoptists. The phrase, *συντελεία τοῦ αἰῶνος*, occurs four times, and is only found elsewhere in Heb. ix. 26. *Τάφος* is the word for a tomb, which occurs six times, and is never used by the other evangelists, who use either *μνήμα* or *μνημεῖον*. *Τότε* is the usual particle of transition. There is also a large number of words which are peculiar to this Gospel.¹ Hebraisms occur, but not more frequently than in many other writings of the New Testament, and are not sufficiently numerous to indicate traces of a translation from the Hebrew. "The style of Matthew," writes Schaff, "is simple, unadorned, calm, dignified, even majestic: less vivid and picturesque than that of Mark, more even and uniform than Luke's, because not dependent on written sources. He is Hebraising, but less so than Mark, and not so much as Luke in his first two chapters. In the fulness of the teaching of Christ he surpasses all except John. Nothing can be more solemn and impressive than his reports of those words of life and power, which will outlast heaven and earth (xxiv. 34). Sentence follows sentence with overwhelming force, like a succession of lightning flashes from the upper world."²

VI. INTEGRITY OF THE GOSPEL.

1. The principal passage in the Gospel of Matthew, the genuineness of which has been disputed, is the first two chapters, containing the genealogy of our Lord and the narrative of His birth. Doubts were first thrown upon the apostolic origin of this passage toward the close of last century (A.D. 1771) by an Englishman named Williams, in a work

¹ For the characteristic words and expressions in Matthew's Gospel, see Credner's *Einleitung in das N.T.* pp. 62-69; Davidsen's *Introduction to the Study of the N.T.* 3rd ed. vol. i. pp. 371-379.

² Schaff's *Church History*, vol. i. p. 620.

entitled, *A free inquiry into the authenticity of the first and second chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel*. He was followed in Germany by such distinguished critics as Eichhorn, Schleiermacher, and Bertholdt, and by Priestley and his school in England. Andrews Norton of America, an Arian, though belonging to the positive school of criticism, supported the same opinion. He conceived that these two chapters did not form a part of the original Hebrew Gospel, but were an extraneous document inserted by the translator into the Greek Gospel. "There are," he observes, "strong reasons for thinking that the first two chapters of our present copies of the Greek Gospel of Matthew made no part of the original Hebrew. We may suppose them to have been an ancient document, which, from the connection of the subject with his history, was transcribed into the same volume with it, and which, though first written as a distinct work with some mark of separation, yet in process of time became blended with it, so as apparently to form its commencement. Being thus found incorporated with the Gospel in the manuscript or in manuscripts used by the translator, it was rendered by him as part of the original."¹ So also Meyer, while admitting that the passage formed an integral portion of the Hebrew Gospel, of which our canonical Gospel is the translation, yet calls in question its apostolic authority. "The portions composing both chapters," he says, "were originally special Gospel documents. Ch. i. 1-16 appears to have been *one* such document by itself, then vv. 18-25 a *second*, and ch. ii. a *third*, in which are now found for the first time the locality and time of the birth of Jesus."² He appears to regard it as a legendary account which found admission into the Gospel. The passage has been defended by Griesbach, Müller,³ and Alford, and even by such rationalistic critics as Credner,⁴ Paulus,⁵ and Kuinoel.⁶

¹ Norton, *The Genuineness of the Gospels*, vol. i. pp. 16, 17.

² Meyer's *Commentary on Matthew*, Eng. trans. vol. i. p. 80.

³ *Ueber die Aechtheit der zwei ersten Kapitel des Evang. nach Matth.*

⁴ *Einleitung*, p. 68.

⁵ *Exegetisches Handbuch*, vol. i. p. 137.

⁶ *Novi Testamenti Libri Historici* : Prolegomena, § 3, De authentia, cap. i. et ii. Evangelii Matthæi.

The external objections to the genuineness of these chapters are of no weight. The chief argument is that they are not contained in the Gospel according to the Hebrews as used by the Jewish Christians, and hence it has been inferred that they formed no part of the original Hebrew Gospel of Matthew. Epiphanius, who appears to have regarded the Gospel according to the Hebrews, or as he calls it, the Gospel of the Ebionites, as the same as the original Aramaic Gospel of Matthew, though in an incomplete, adulterated, and mutilated form, states that it commenced with the baptism of John: "The beginning of their Gospel was this: It came to pass in the days of Herod, the king of Judaea, that John came baptizing with the baptism of repentance in the river of Jordan" (Matt. iii. 1-7).¹ We have already considered the relation of this Gospel to the Gospel of Matthew. It is not now in existence, so that we cannot verify this statement. But as the majority of Hebrew Christians were Ebionites who called in question the divinity of Christ, it is highly probable that from dogmatic motives they did reject the first two chapters of Matthew, which taught the miraculous conception. Tatian also, in his Diatessaron, omitted the genealogy. But this is no serious objection to the genuineness of these two chapters, since Tatian, although he omitted the genealogy of our Lord as not being essential to his harmony, did not omit the narrative of the birth of Christ,—the miraculous conception, the visit of the Magi, the appearance of the star, and the slaughter of the infants of Bethlehem.

But the principal objections arise out of the narrative itself. The visit of the Magi and the appearance of a star are said to be of a legendary character, resembling the accounts which the heathen gave of the birth of their demigods. The massacre of the infants of Bethlehem, an act of unexampled and unheard of barbarity, is unrecorded in history, and besides was wholly unnecessary, as Herod might easily have accomplished his purpose without having recourse to such a deed of cruelty. And it is affirmed that the account of the birth of Christ as recorded by Luke is wholly different from that here

¹ *Her.* xxx. 13.

given us by Matthew, and that the events which follow are at variance: instead of the visit of the Magi and the flight into Egypt, there is the presentation in the temple and the return to Nazareth.

The external testimony in favour of the passage is so strong and convincing, that we do not see how it can be set aside by any objections of a subjective or internal nature. The passage is contained in all Greek manuscripts and in all the ancient versions of the Gospels. It is frequently alluded to and quoted by the early Fathers. Thus, in the Epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians (A.D. 115), there is an allusion to the star. "How was He manifested to the world? A star shone forth in the heavens above all the other stars, the light of which was inexpressible, while its novelty struck men with astonishment."¹ Justin Martyr (A.D. 180) mentions all the incidents contained in the narrative—the visit of the Magi, the flight into Egypt, and the massacre of the infants. "Now this King Herod, at the time when the Magi came to him from Arabia, and said that they knew from a star which appeared in the heavens that a king had been born in your country, and that they had come to worship Him, learned from the elders of your people that it was written regarding Bethlehem in the prophet: 'And thou Bethlehem, in the land of Judah, art by no means least among the princes of Judah: for out of thee shall go forth the leader who shall feed my people.' Accordingly the Magi from Arabia came to Bethlehem and worshipped the child, and presented Him with gifts, gold, and frankincense, and myrrh; but returned not to Herod, being warned in a revelation, after worshipping the child in Bethlehem. . . . So Herod, when the Magi from Arabia did not return to him, as he had asked them to do, but departed by another way to their own country, according to the commands laid on them; and when Joseph, with Mary and the child, had gone into Egypt, as he did not know the child whom 'the Magi' had gone to worship, ordered the whole of the children then in Bethlehem to be massacred."² As we have already stated, the whole passage, with the exception of the genealogy, is contained in the Diatessaron of

¹ Ignatius, *Eph. ad Ephes.* ch. xix.

² *Dial. c. Tryph.* ch. lxxviii.

Tatian (A.D. 160). There are frequent references to it in the writings of Irenæus (A.D. 180). Thus he refers to the genealogy of our Lord as recorded by Matthew: "Matthew relates His generation as a man: The birth of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham: and also, The birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise."¹ And he mentions the visit of the Magi and the appearance of the star: "Matthew says that the Magi, coming from the East, exclaimed: We have seen His star in the East, and are come to worship Him."² It is needless to pursue the references to the passage further. There is no doubt that it constituted an original portion of the Greek Gospel of Matthew. To affirm, with Norton, that it formed no part of the original Hebrew, but was an insertion into our Greek Gospel by the translator,—granting the existence of a Hebrew original,—is a mere assertion, for which the only proof is its omission in the defective Gospel according to the Hebrews.

The internal evidence is in favour of the genuineness of the passage. It forms an appropriate introduction to the Gospel. Thus the beginning of chap. iii.: "And in those days" (*Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις*), is, by reason of the conjunction δὲ and the phrase *ἡμέραις ἐκείναις*, in apparent connection with what precedes. So also the statement, that Jesus leaving Nazareth, came and dwelt in Capernaum (iv. 13), presupposes the previous residence in Nazareth mentioned in the passage (ii. 23). The style and diction of the passage correspond with the rest of the Gospel. The favourite formula of Matthew, when introducing any prophetic statement: "That it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord through the prophet" (*ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ρηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου*), occurs, either in full or in an abbreviated form, five times (i. 22, ii. 5, 15, 17, 23). The Messianic title used by Matthew, the son of David (*υἱὸς Δαυεὶδ*), occurs twice (i. 1, 20). The favourite term, *λεγόμενος*, used in announcing the meaning of an epithet applied to the Messiah (*Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός*, i. 16), or in stating names and surnames (*εἰς πόλιν λεγομένην Ναζαρέτ*, ii. 23), is twice employed. The peculiar use of

¹ Irenæus, *Contra Hæc.* iii. 11. 8.

² *Ibid.* iii. 9. 2.

ῥηθεῖς, ῥηθὲν, occurs four times, whilst of the other Synoptists only Mark has τὸ ῥηθὲν (Mark xiii. 14).¹ Of course it may be answered, that these similarities of diction are attributable to the translator in rendering the Hebrew original into Greek.²

The visit of the Magi and the appearance of the star are objected to as being legendary, and giving countenance to the superstitious ideas of astrologers. "In the story of the Magi," observes Norton, "we find represented a strange mixture of astrology and miracle. A divine interposition is pretended, which was addressed to the false opinions of certain Magi respecting the significance of the stars, and for which no purpose worthy of the Deity can be assigned."³

The incident occurs as part of the continuous narrative of the evangelist; and, if we admit the supernatural in the narrative, there is no reason why it should be regarded with special suspicion. Many eminent critics, among them Alford, explain the incident from natural causes. The Magi were a well-known body of religious astronomers, or perhaps astrologers, resident either in Chaldæa or in Persia. The country from which they came is not stated; there is merely the indefinite expression: "Behold wise men came from the East." The Fathers, in general, have fixed on Arabia. Whether the star was a miraculous or a natural phenomenon is a matter of dispute. An extraordinary astronomical fact, regarded by astronomers as demonstrated, is mentioned by Kepler. About the period of the birth of our Lord there was a remarkable conjunction of the planets Jupiter and Saturn in the constellation Pisces, which occurred three times in the year of Rome 747, or B.C. 7, on May 29, September 29, and December 5. This fact was carefully examined by the Rev. Charles Pritchard, the honorary secretary of the Royal Astronomical Society, and its accuracy was vouched by him. At the same time, it must be observed that the planets were never so closely conjoined

¹ See Guericke, *Isagogik*, pp. 240, 241.

² So Meyer: "The unity of the Greek style and expression is to be explained from the unity of the translator."

³ Norton's *Genuineness of the Gospels*, vol. i. p. 208.

as to appear one large star; there was always a space equal to the diameter of the moon between them.¹ But to stargazers as the Magi, and especially to astrologers, it must have proved a striking phenomenon. It has accordingly been supposed that this celestial phenomenon constituted the star which appeared to the Magi, and that its occurrence three times seemed to guide their steps from the East to Bethlehem.² "Supposing," observes Dean Alford, "the Magi to have seen the *first* of these conjunctions, they saw it actually 'in the East'; for on the 29th of May it would rise three and a half hours before sunrise. If they then took their journey, and arrived at Jerusalem in a little more than five months" (the September conjunction would occur); "if they performed the route from Jerusalem to Bethlehem, the December conjunction would be before them in *the direction of Bethlehem*. These circumstances would seem to form a remarkable coincidence with the history in our text."³ The coincidence is certainly very remarkable, but it is doubtful whether this conjunction of these planets is to be identified with the star of Bethlehem. For one thing, we would require to put back the birth of our Lord seven years, to B.C. 7. This, however, is no insuperable objection, as it is now generally admitted that there is an error in our Christian era, and that our Lord's birth is antedated by several years. Still, in all probability, the star was a supernatural phenomenon, as it is apparently so described in the narrative—some meteor, divinely formed for the purpose, which, by its movements, guided the wise men to the infant Messiah. The supreme dignity of our Lord, as the long promised Messiah, the Son of

¹ See art. "Stern der Weisen" in Winer's *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*; art. "Star of the Wise Men," by Rev. Charles Pritchard, in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*; Alford's *Greek Testament* on Matt. ii. 2; Kepler, *De Jesu Christi vero anno natalitio*; Wieseler's *Synopsis of the Four Gospels*, pp. 86 ff., Eng. trans.; Ellicott's *Lectures on the Life of our Lord*, p. 72, note 2.

² A distinguished Jewish rabbi, Abarbanel, states that there was a tradition that the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in the sign Pisces was most important for the Jewish nation, that it took place at the birth of Moses, and that it will occur at the advent of the Messiah. Ebrard's *Gospel History*, p. 178; McClellan, *On the Gospels*, p. 400.

³ Alford's *Greek Testament*, note on Matt. ii. 1, 2.

God, and the Redeemer of the human race, were reasons sufficient for the occurrence of extraordinary phenomena at His birth.

The massacre of the infants of Bethlehem is regarded as another incident which casts a doubt on the truth of the narrative (Matt. ii. 16). There is no reference to such an occurrence in the contemporary history of Josephus. The barbarities of Herod are there minutely described, but this barbarous and apparently unnecessary slaughter of helpless infants is not even hinted at.

The answer to this objection is obvious. Such an act of barbarity is entirely in conformity with the character of Herod. He waded through blood to his throne, and his whole reign was steeped in blood. He put to death his wife, Mariamne, and his three sons, Alexander, Aristobulus, and Antipater. Immediately before his death, he caused the principal men among the Jews to be arrested and collected in the Hippodrome at Jericho, and gave orders that they should be put to death immediately at his decease, so that there should be a general lamentation at his death.¹ Nor is the massacre of the infants to be exaggerated. Bethlehem was a small village, and the infants slain, from two years old and under, would be few in number,—a trifling incident compared with the other enormities of Herod, who rivalled Nero in his cruelties, though on a smaller scale. Josephus might easily pass over such an act of cruelty in recording atrocities of a much more stupendous nature.

But the chief objection is the apparent discrepancy between this narrative and the narrative of our Lord's birth as recorded in the Gospel of Luke. We have already had occasion to allude to the striking difference between these two narratives in proof of the statement that the Gospels of Matthew and Luke must have been written independently of each other; it is here referred to for another reason, because it has been maintained by those who deny the genuineness of Matthew's narrative that the difference is so great as to amount to a contradiction, so that both accounts cannot

¹ For a striking statement of the cruelties of Herod the Great, see Neander's *Life of Christ*, p. 30, Bohn's edition.

possibly be true.¹ For example, it is affirmed that the residence of Joseph is differently stated by these two evangelists. According to Luke, Joseph and Mary dwelt in Nazareth. "Joseph," we read, "went up from Galilee out of the city of Nazareth to the city of David, which is called Bethlehem" (Luke ii. 16). He remained there until the rites according to the law of Moses were completed, and then he and Mary returned to Nazareth, which is expressly called their own city (*εἰς τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν Ναζαρέτ*, Luke ii. 39). Whereas Matthew, without mentioning any previous residence in Nazareth, relates that Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judæa; that Joseph and Mary left that city in consequence of a divine warning and fled to Egypt, where they remained until the death of Herod; that after the death of that monarch they returned, but, in consequence of another divine premonition, did not resume their residence in Bethlehem, but withdrew into the parts of Galilee, and came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth (Matt. ii. 23). Now, certainly, the natural impression from this narrative is that Bethlehem and not Nazareth was the residence of Joseph. This, however, is not asserted by Matthew, and the fact that Joseph came and dwelt in Nazareth is in itself a presumption that he had some previous connection with that town.

The difference in the incidents recorded by the two evangelists is certainly remarkable, but they are not so much at variance as to create a distinct discrepancy. We have only to suppose, what is in itself probable, that Joseph and Mary remained a full year in Bethlehem, and that the visit of the wise men did not follow directly after the visit of the shepherds. The Magi found Jesus and His mother, not in the stable of the nativity, but in a house (*ἐλθόντες εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν*, Matt. ii. 11); and the age of the infants who were slaughtered was from two years old and under, according to the time which Herod had carefully learned of the wise men (Matt. ii. 16).

The possible chronological order of events, which is that given in its general features by Tatian in the Diatessaron, is

¹ See Meyer, *in loco*, and Schleiermacher's *St. Luke*, translated by Bishop Thirlwall, pp. 44 ff.

as follows: Jesus, according to both Matthew and Luke, is born in Bethlehem of Judæa. According to Luke, He was born in a stable, and on the evening of the day of His birth He was visited by the shepherds. Soon after, Joseph with Mary and the child would remove to a house. Forty days after, according to the provisions of the law of Moses, the presentation in the temple of Jerusalem took place, where the child was recognised by Simeon and the prophetess Anna. From Jerusalem they returned to Bethlehem, perhaps with the intention of taking up their permanent residence there, as the city of David so hallowed in their view by what had occurred. Probably about a year after this the visit of the Magi and the appearance of the star occurred. Then, warned by God of the danger which threatened the child from the jealousy of Herod, they fled into Egypt, where they remained until his death, probably for a very short period. During their absence the massacre of the children of Bethlehem occurred. On hearing of the death of Herod, Joseph and Mary returned to Judæa, possibly to resume their residence in Bethlehem; but, in consequence of another divine warning, they returned to Nazareth, their former abode. By such a method any apparent discrepancy is obviated; at least it is shown that there does not exist any antagonism between the two narratives. We have only to suppose that Luke omits in his narrative the events which occurred during the temporary residence in Bethlehem. The return to Nazareth which he mentions (Luke ii. 39) is the same which Matthew mentions as taking place on their coming back from Egypt (Matt. ii. 23).¹

2. Another passage, which has been and is still disputed, is the doxology attached to the Lord's Prayer: "For Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen" (Matt. vi. 13).

The argument for the omission or retention of these words rests entirely on external evidence: there is nothing in the words themselves which can be adduced as an argument either for or against their insertion. The argument in favour of the genuineness of this doxology is that it is found

¹ See Wieseler's *Synopsis of the Four Gospels*, p. 136, chap. iii. Succession of events in the history of our Lord's childhood.

in several important uncial MSS. (E, G, K); in all the cursive MSS. except five; in all the Syriac versions; in the Codex Brixianus (*f*), an important manuscript of the Old Latin, in the Ethiopic and Armenian versions, and in the two Egyptian versions, the Sahidic and the Coptic. It is found in Tatian's Diatessaron, and in the Didaché, though only in part, ἡ βασιλεία being omitted.¹ It is quoted by Chrysostom and subsequent Fathers. The argument against its insertion is that it is not contained in the principal uncial MSS., the Sinaitic, the Vatican, and the Codex Bezae; the Alexandrian and the Codex Ephraemi are here defective. It is wanting in the MSS. of the Old Latin, with the exception of the Codex Brixianus, and in the Vulgate. It is not quoted by any of the Greek Fathers until Chrysostom, and is omitted by the great Latin Fathers—Tertullian, Cyprian, Augustine, and Jerome. It occurs with several variations, as: "Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." It is omitted in the form of the Lord's Prayer as given in the Gospel of Luke.²

The words are rejected by the vast majority of the critical editions of the New Testament, by the Complutensian editors, Erasmus, Bengel, Mill, Wetstein, Griesbach, Scholz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort. Scrivener is almost the only one who expresses any dubiety. "It is right to say," he observes, "that I can no longer regard this doxology as *certainly* an integral part of St. Matthew's Gospel; but I am not yet absolutely convinced of its spuriousness."³ The words are regarded as spurious by Grotius, Luther, Melancthon, De Wette, Tholuck, Meyer, Olshausen, Alford, Davidson, Wordsworth, McClellan, Morison,

¹ Didaché, ch. viii.

² For discussions on the genuineness of the doxology, see Alford's *Greek Testament, in loco*; Davidson's *Biblical Criticism*, vol. ii. pp. 427-430; Scrivener, *Introduction to the Criticism of the N.T.* vol. ii. pp. 323-328, 4th ed.; Cook, *Revised Version of the First Three Gospels*, pp. 57 ff.; McClellan's *New Testament*, p. 647; Westcott and Hort, *New Testament in Greek: Notes on select readings*, pp. 9, 10; Roediger, *Synopsis Evangeliorum*, Appendix iii. p. 229.

³ Scrivener's *Introduction to the Criticism of the N.T.* vol. ii. 323, 4th edition.

and the most noted commentators. It is expunged in the Revised edition without any marginal note expressive of hesitation.¹ "There can be little doubt," observes Dr. Hort, "that the doxology originated in liturgical use in Syria, and was thence adopted into the Greek and Syriac Syrian texts of the N.T. It was probably derived ultimately from 1 Chron. xxix. 11 (Heb.), but, it may be, through the medium of some contemporary Jewish usage; the people's response to the prayers in the temple is said to have been: 'Blessed be the name of the glory of His kingdom for ever and ever.'"²

VII. THE DATE OF THE GOSPEL.

The time when the Gospel of Matthew was written is still a point of great dubiety. There is much diversity in the statement of the Fathers. Irenæus places it after A.D. 60; Eusebius, about A.D. 44, when the apostles were dispersed; Theophylact, at A.D. 41; and Nicephorus, at A.D. 48, fifteen years after the ascension. Different years, between A.D. 37 and A.D. 100, have been assigned by critics.³ The question may be put in this form, Was the date of this Gospel before or after A.D. 60?

The early date, before A.D. 60, has been adopted by Townson, Michaelis, Roberts, and Davidson (1st edition of his *Introduction*). Those who fix upon this date have the support of Eusebius, who says: "Of all the disciples (apostles) of the Lord, only Matthew and John have left us written memorials; and they, tradition says, were led to write only under the pressure of necessity. For Matthew, who had at first preached to the Hebrews, when he was about to go to other peoples, committed his Gospel to writing in his native tongue, and thus compensated those whom he was obliged to

¹ We, however, think that there should have been a marginal note stating that the passage is not altogether devoid of support.

² Westcott and Hort's *Greek Testament*: Notes on select readings, p. 9.

³ The Tübingen school assign a much later date to Matthew's Gospel: Pfleiderer supposes that it was written about the middle of the second century. Dr. Davidson, in the last edition of his *Introduction*, says: "The Gospel may be dated about 105 A.D." vol. i. p. 370.

leave for the loss of his presence.”¹ According to this statement, whilst the apostles remained in Judæa, there was an oral communication of the Gospel; the actions and the discourses of Christ formed the subject of their preaching, and of the instructions given to the disciples; the want of a written Gospel was not then felt; but when they had to leave Judæa and go to other nations, the loss of their oral communications had to be supplied by some written documents; and, according to Eusebius, this was the occasion of Matthew’s writing his Gospel. It is difficult to determine the date of the departure of the apostles from Judæa, but it could not have been long after the ascension. At the council of Jerusalem (A.D. 51) there were only present Peter, John, and James the Lord’s brother; and on a previous occasion (A.D. 40), on his visit to Jerusalem, Paul saw none of the apostles save Peter and James the Lord’s brother (Gal. i. 18, 19). The probability is that the persecution by Herod Agrippa (A.D. 44) drove the apostles from Jerusalem. According to an ancient tradition, the apostles were commanded by our Lord to remain for twelve years in Jerusalem. Thus Apollonius, who wrote in the second century, states that it was handed down by tradition, that our Saviour commanded His disciples not to depart from Jerusalem for twelve years.² And the same tradition is recorded in an apocryphal work, quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus, entitled, *The Preaching of Peter*. “The Lord said to His apostles, ‘If anyone therefore of Israel repent, and through My name be willing to believe in God, his sins shall be forgiven him. After twelve years, go ye out into the world, lest any say, We have not heard.’”³ This period coincides with the persecution by Herod Agrippa. As, however, Peter, John, and James were present at the council of Jerusalem, A.D. 51, the final dispersion of the apostles must have taken place some years later. According to this view, we fix the date of Matthew’s Gospel between A.D. 55–60.

There are several presumptive reasons in favour of this date. So long as the apostles remained in Jerusalem, and

¹ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 24.

² *Ibid.* v. 18.

³ Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.* vi. 5.

the disciples were privileged with their instructions, the oral Gospel was sufficient. But when the apostles left, and the Church was unprovided with qualified teachers,—with those who were personally cognisant of the life of Jesus, and were the eye-witnesses of His actions and the hearers of His discourses,—a written Gospel was indispensable. And especially would this be the case when we consider that in a short time Christianity overstepped the boundaries of Judæa, the Gospel was diffused throughout the adjacent countries, the Gentiles were admitted into the Church of Christ, and before A.D. 50 Paul had founded Churches in Phœnicia, Syria, Cyprus, and Pisidia. The apostles could no longer supply the wants of the times: it was essential that the actions and discourses of Christ should be committed to writing. We cannot suppose that no Gospel was written until thirty years after the death of Christ, and that the life of Christ, His words and actions, were left to the uncertainties of tradition. Early Gospel fragments would be dispersed throughout the Churches,—probably different in different Churches and localities,—and many of them would be collected and authenticated by apostolic men. And we know, as a matter of fact, that authoritative Gospels were at an early period recognised by the Church.

The later date, after A.D. 60, appears not so probable; but nevertheless it is the one that has been adopted by the majority of modern critics. It is the opinion of Eichhorn, Credner, Hug, Michaelis, Lardner, Bertholdt, Bleek, Davidson (3rd ed.), and Weiss. Those who fix upon it have the support of Irenæus. “Matthew,” observes that Father, “issued a written Gospel among the Hebrews in their own dialect while Peter and Paul were preaching the gospel at Rome, and laying the foundations of the Church.”¹ As Paul did not reach Rome until A.D. 61, the date here assigned must have been after A.D. 60. It is argued that there are in the Gospel of Matthew itself intimations of a late date. Thus we read that the field purchased by the treason money of Judas is called the field of blood *unto this day* (Matt. xxvii. 8); that the report of the soldiers about the stealing of the

¹ Irenæus, *Adv. Her.* iii. 1. 1; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 8.

body of Jesus was spread abroad among the Jews and continued *until this day* (Matt. xxviii. 15),—a phrase which implies that there must have been an interval between the occurrence of these events and the writing of the Gospel. But, so far as we can see, an interval of fifteen years is sufficient to answer the requirement.

Another argument on which some critics ground the later date of Matthew's Gospel, is the mention of Zachariah, son of Barachiah, who is said to have been slain between the sanctuary and the altar (Matt. xxiii. 35). Hug, Credner, Eichhorn, and apparently Weiss,¹ suppose that this Zachariah is Zachariah the son of Baruch, whose murder at the commencement of the Jewish war by the Idumeans in the temple is mentioned by Josephus;² and hence they argue that the Gospel was not written until after this event; that it was an assertion put into the mouth of our Lord by the writer of this Gospel. Hug attempts to escape the objection drawn from this anachronism by supposing that our Lord spoke of the death of Zachariah in a prophetic spirit, although in the Gospel it is mentioned as a past event (*ὃν ἐφονεύσατε*).³ But the supposition is wholly fanciful. The Zachariah of Josephus is the son of Baruch, not of Barachiah. There is indeed a difficulty in identifying the person of whom our Lord speaks with any prophet mentioned in the Old Testament; but the common opinion is probably correct, that the allusion is to Zachariah the son of Jehoiada, who was murdered in the court of the temple by order of King Joash⁴ (2 Chron. xxiv. 20–22).

The statement of Irenæus, which has given rise to this opinion of the later date, is of doubtful credibility. He speaks of Matthew's Gospel being written when Peter and

¹ Weiss, *Einführung in das N.T.* § 47, trans. vol. ii. p. 288.

² Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* iv. 5. 4.

³ Hug's *Introduction to the N.T.* vol. ii. p. 12, Eng. trans.

⁴ The difference of name, Jehoiada instead of Barachiah, is a difficulty. In the Gospel according to the Hebrews, Zachariah is called, not the son of Barachiah, but the son of Joiada. Ebrard, taking into account the extreme age of Jehoiada, supposes that Zachariah was his grandson. Is it not possible that it might have been the prophet Zechariah who is called the son of Barachiah? (Zech. i. 1).

Paul were in Rome preaching and founding the Church.¹ But the Roman Church was not founded by Peter and Paul: it was in existence long before either Peter or Paul arrived in that city. Paul, when he came to Rome, found Christians already there, and had several years before written an Epistle to them. It is very doubtful whether Paul and Peter were ever in Rome together; indeed it is a question whether Rome was ever visited by the Apostle Peter. His first Epistle is written from Babylon (1 Pet. v. 13), and the fact of his residence in Rome greatly depends upon the answer to the question, whether by Babylon is meant the renowned city on the Euphrates, or whether it is a metaphorical name for Rome.²

Some critics endeavour to reconcile these two dates—the earlier and the later—by the supposition that two editions of Matthew's Gospel were written, the one in Aramaic and the other in Greek, and that these editions were written at different times. The Aramaic Gospel, being at first the most requisite, was written earliest, about A.D. 44, on the departure of the apostle from Judæa. Afterwards, when the disciples became more numerous, and were composed for the most part of Greeks, it became necessary that it should be translated into Greek; and this was done, either by Matthew himself or some other person, about A.D. 60. "I can," says Michaelis, "see no impropriety in believing that both the early and the later date, assigned to St. Matthew's Gospel, are consistent with truth; that it was originally written in Hebrew in the beginning of the year 41, before Herod Agrippa was appointed king of Judæa, but that the Greek translation of it was not made until the year 61 or later."³ That there were two such editions, an Aramaic and a Greek Gospel, is a supposition perfectly admissible, indeed has presumptive evidence in its favour.

The place of composition was most probably Jerusalem

¹ τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ τοῦ Παύλου ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιούντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

² See Gloag's *Introduction to the Catholic Epistles*, pp. 144-161: Dissertation, "Peter's residence in Rome."

³ Marsh's *Michaelis*, vol. iv. p. 112, 2nd ed.

or some part of Judæa. Everything in the Gospel points to this: the references to the customs of the Jews, the mention of localities, the Hebrew garb of the narrative, are all reconcilable with the supposition that it was written in Palestine. In Judæa also Matthew would find his authorities and the sources of his narrative.

VIII. CONTENTS OF THE GOSPEL.

It is unnecessary to give a table of the contents of the Gospel of Matthew; this is given in every commentary, and may be easily gathered from a survey of the Gospel. At the same time, the Gospel can only be studied in connection with the other Gospels in the form of a harmony, as they mutually supplement each other.

The Gospel of Matthew may be conveniently divided into six unequal parts.

1. The birth of Christ (i., ii.). This part contains the genealogy of our Lord and the narrative of His birth.

2. The preparation for His ministry (iii.—iv. 11). This part includes the ministry of John the Baptist, the baptism of Jesus, the descent of the Spirit upon Him, His inauguration as the Son of God, and the temptation in the wilderness.

3. The Galilean ministry (iv. 12—xviii. 35). This part, which forms the main body of the Gospel, contains the call of the apostles and the first missionary journey in Galilee, the Sermon on the Mount, a narrative of several miracles performed by Christ, instructions given to the apostles when sending them forth to preach the gospel, the deputation from the Baptist, our Lord's dispute with the Pharisees, a series of miracles, the fate of the Baptist, the twofold feeding of the multitude, the confession of the Messiahship of Jesus by His disciples, the transfiguration, various instructions imparted to the disciples.

4. The journey to Jerusalem and residence there (xix. 1—xxv. 46). This part contains His departure from Galilee, His gradual progress to Jerusalem and His triumphal entrance, the denunciations pronounced on the scribes and Pharisees,

the prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem, and a series of parables delivered toward the close of His ministry.

5. The Passion (xxvi., xxvii.). This part includes the anointing of our Lord at Bethany, the institution of the Supper, the agony in Gethsemane, the examination of Jesus before Caiaphas, the trial before Pilate, the crucifixion, death, and burial.

6. The Resurrection (xxviii.).

Perhaps the most characteristic portions of this Gospel are the Sermon on the Mount (v.-vii.), and the two series of parables on the nature of the kingdom of heaven, the one delivered about the middle of our Lord's ministry (xiii.), and the other toward its close (xxv.).

DISSERTATION.

QUOTATIONS FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE consideration of the quotations made by the writers of the New Testament from the Old Testament is a very wide subject, and can only be touched upon in this dissertation. It is complicated by the fact that there are two sources from which these quotations have been derived,—the original Hebrew and the Septuagint or Greek translation,—and these often differ from each other. In general the difference is trivial, but sometimes it is important, and alters the sense. The subject has been carefully examined by the late Dr. Turpie in his book, entitled, *The Old Testament in the New*,¹ a work of much learning and labour. He arrives at the following results. There are 275 undoubted quotations from the Old Testament by writers of the New. These are arranged under five divisions. 1. Those passages in which the Hebrew, the Septuagint, and the New Testament all agree, of which there are fifty-three. 2. Those in which the New Testament agrees with the Hebrew, but differs from the Septuagint, of which there are ten. 3. Those in which the Hebrew and the Septuagint agree, but differ from the New Testament, of which there are seventy-six. 4. Those in which the New Testament agrees with the Septuagint, but differs from the Hebrew, of which there are thirty-seven. 5. Those in

¹ “A contribution to Biblical Criticism and Interpretation. The quotations from the Old Testament in the New classified according to their agreement with, or variation from, the original.” London, 1868. This was followed by a companion volume, entitled, *The New Testament View of the Old*. London, 1872.

which all three—the Hebrew, the Septuagint, and the New Testament—differ, of which there are ninety-nine. To those have to be added three passages (John vii. 38, 42; Eph. v. 14) which are only doubtful quotations.¹

The Gospel of Matthew has, in proportion to its length, a greater number of quotations from the Old Testament than any other New Testament writing, with the exception of the Epistle to the Romans. The reason is obvious, because the special design of this Gospel was to prove the Messiahship of Jesus, and for this purpose the evangelist had to draw his proofs from the Old Testament. The number of quotations has been variously estimated. Dr. Davidson, who includes a number of coincidences which are not strictly citations, gives the number at sixty-one;² whilst Dr. Turpie, restricting himself to undoubted citations, reduces it to forty-one. Taking Dr. Turpie's book as guide, though not strictly following it, we give the list of quotations in Matthew's Gospel with the following distinctive marks: *a*, denoting those which agree both with the Hebrew and the Septuagint; *β*, those which agree with the Hebrew, but differ from the Septuagint; *γ*, those which agree with the Septuagint, but differ from the Hebrew; and *δ*, those which differ both from the Hebrew and the Septuagint.

N.T.	O.T.
δ Matt. i. 23	Isa. vii. 14.
δ „ ii. 6	Mic. v. 1, 2.
β „ ii. 15	Hos. xi. 1.
δ „ ii. 18	Jer. xxxi. 15.
δ „ ii. 23	Isa. xi. 1?
δ „ iii. 3	Isa. xl. 3.
δ „ iv. 4	Deut. viii. 3.
δ „ iv. 6	Ps. xci. 11, 12.
a „ iv. 7	Deut. vi. 16.
δ „ iv. 10	Deut. vi. 13.
δ „ iv. 15, 16	Isa. ix. 1, 2.

¹ Turpie's *Old Testament in the New*, p. 267. See also Farrar's *Life of Christ*, vol. ii. pp. 483 f.

² Davidson's *Introduction to the Study of the N.T.* 3rd ed. vol. i. pp. 375, 376. See also Davidson's *Hermeneutics*, pp. 334 ff.

N.T.			O.T.
δ	Matt. viii. 17	. . .	Isa. liii. 4.
δ	„ ix. 13	. . .	Hos. vi. 6.
δ	„ xi. 10	. . .	Mal. iii. 1.
δ	„ xii. 7	. . .	Hos. vi. 6.
δ	„ xii. 18-21	. . .	Isa. xlii. 1-4.
γ	„ xiii. 14, 15	. . .	Isa. vi. 9, 10.
δ	„ xiii. 35	. . .	Ps. lxxviii. 2.
δ	„ xv. 4	. . .	Ex. xx. 12.
δ	„ xv. 8, 9	. . .	Isa. xxix. 13.
δ	„ xviii. 16	. . .	Deut. xix. 15.
δ	„ xix. 4	. . .	Gen. i. 27.
δ	„ xix. 5	. . .	Gen. ii. 24.
α	„ xix. 18, 19	. . .	Ex. xx. 12-16.
δ	„ xxi. 5	. . .	Zech. ix. 9.
δ	„ xxi. 13	. . .	Isa. lvi. 7.
α	„ xxi. 16	. . .	Ps. viii. 2.
α	„ xxi. 42	. . .	Ps. cxviii. 22, 23.
δ	„ xxii. 24	. . .	Deut. xxv. 5.
δ	„ xxii. 32	. . .	Ex. iii. 6.
δ	„ xxii. 37	. . .	Deut. vi. 5.
α	„ xxii. 39	. . .	Lev. xix. 18.
α	„ xxii. 44	. . .	Ps. ex. 1.
δ	„ xxvi. 31	. . .	Zech. xiii. 7.
δ	„ xxvii. 9, 10	. . .	Zech. xi. 13.
α	„ xxvii. 35	. . .	Ps. xxii. 18. ¹
β	„ xxvii. 46	. . .	Ps. xxii. 1, 2.

From this list of quotations it appears that there are six in which the Hebrew, Septuagint, and New Testament agree (iv. 7, xix. 18, xxi. 16, 42, xxii. 39, 44); two which are taken from the Hebrew original, but which differ materially from the Septuagint (ii. 15, xxvii. 46); and one which agrees *verbatim* with the Septuagint and differs from the Hebrew (xiii. 14, 15).² By far the larger number, amounting to twenty-seven, differ both from the Hebrew and the Septuagint. These differences are, however, in general immaterial. They consist in a different arrangement of the words, in the

¹ This passage is not considered genuine, and is omitted in the R.V.

² In this class also iv. 7 and xxi. 42 are placed by Dr. Turpie, but the difference from the Hebrew is very slight.

omission or insertion of connecting particles, and in the change of tenses; the meaning remains in general unaltered. It would appear that the New Testament writers frequently quoted from memory, without examining either the Hebrew original or the Septuagint. In the same manner the early Fathers quoted from the Scriptures both of the Old and New Testaments, as is seen in the numerous quotations in the writings of Justin Martyr and Clemens Alexandrinus, in which there are many deviations from Scripture. The same is the case in the present day: theologians often do not quote accurately; they give the sense of a passage, without using the precise words.

Different opinions have been adopted regarding the quotations from the Old Testament in general. Some hold that the New Testament writers quoted always from the Hebrew, giving their own free translation; others, that they made use of the Septuagint, quoting from it in a free and general manner; and others, that they adhered uniformly to neither, but frequently quoted from memory, and made a free use of their sources.¹ Bleek asserts, with special reference to the Gospel of Matthew, that in the citations which occur in the body of the narrative the Septuagint was used, whilst in those which the evangelist introduces in his own reflections, the Hebrew original is employed. But this statement is not borne out by fact, as may be seen by an examination of the passages. It would rather appear that the Septuagint lies at the root of most of the quotations, even of those which differ from it.

The extent to which the Septuagint was used in the days of our Lord is a matter of dispute. Some affirm that it had superseded the Hebrew original, and was used in the Jewish synagogues.² Hebrew was then a dead

¹ Davidson's *Introduction to the Study of the N.T.* 3rd ed. vol. i. pp. 375, 376; *Speaker's Commentary*, "Introduction to the Gospels," by Archbishop Thomson, p. xxviii; Westcott's *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, Appendix A, "On the Quotations in the Gospels"; Bleek's *Introduction to the N.T.* vol. i. p. 295; Davidson's *Hermeneutics*, pp. 334-516.

² "Every available source of evidence," observes Professor Roberts, "which is worth anything, points to the conclusion that the Greek transla-

language, and was not understood by ordinary Jews, and, so far as we know, there was no Aramaic translation. Besides, copies of the Hebrew Bible would be exceedingly expensive, whereas copies of the Septuagint would be more easily procured, owing to the abundance of Greek slave labour employed in transcription. Most probably in the synagogues the original Hebrew, being the sacred language, would be used, even as in the present day; whilst Jews, for their own private reading and edification, would possess copies of the Septuagint, owing to its comparative inexpensiveness. When our Lord appeared in the synagogue of Nazareth, there was delivered to Him the roll of the prophet Isaiah, most probably in the original Hebrew. The passage which He read, as quoted in the New Testament: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me, because He anointed Me to preach good tidings to the poor; He hath sent Me to proclaim release to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord"¹ (Luke iv. 18, 19), differs both from the Hebrew and the Septuagint. The difference is immaterial, but we cannot say from which source the quotation is made; so that no inference can be drawn from it as to the comparative use of the Hebrew or the Septuagint in the Jewish synagogues. On the other hand, the quotations made by the New Testament writers are in general pervaded by the spirit of the Septuagint, whilst the Hebrew is very seldom literally translated. Dr. Turpie mentions only ten passages which agree with the Hebrew but differ from the Septuagint,² and thirty-seven which agree with the Septuagint but differ from the Hebrew. All those far more numerous passages, amounting to 175, which differ alike from the Hebrew and the Septuagint, in general approach more nearly to the Septuagint; so that there appears reason for Professor Roberts' remark: "The use of the Old Testament Scriptures was then regularly used in the synagogues of Palestine," *Greek, the Language of Christ and His Apostles*, p. 453.

¹ Revised Version. The words *ἰάσασθαι τοὺς συντρίβιμηνους τῆς καρδίας*, "to heal the broken-hearted," are omitted, as not found in the best manuscripts.

² These passages are Matt. ii. 15, xxvii. 46; Mark ii. 29, 30, xv. 28, 34; Luke xxii. 37; 1 Cor. iii. 19; 2 Cor. viii. 15; 2 Tim. ii. 19; Heb. v. 12.

"In the vast majority of these quotations the Septuagint is either exactly followed, or the resemblance is so close as to be virtually identical."¹

There is little variation in the formulae of quotation used by Matthew. In general it is *ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν*, "that it might be fulfilled which was spoken"; to which is added, *ὑπὸ κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου*, "by the Lord, through the prophet" (i. 22, ii. 15), or simply *διὰ τοῦ προφήτου*, "through the prophet" (xiii. 35, xxi. 4), or *διὰ τῶν προφητῶν*, "by the prophets," or *διὰ Ἰσαίου*, *διὰ Ἰερεμίου*, "by Isaiah," "by Jeremiah" (ii. 17, iv. 14, viii. 17, xii. 17, xxvii. 9); or the simple *γέγραπται*, "it is written," is used (iv. 4, 6, 7, 10, xi. 10, xxi. 13, xxvi. 31). This last form is generally employed by our Lord in His quotations from the Old Testament. In general the quotations are given as direct proofs, stating that the prophecies were fulfilled in the events recorded. Sometimes the connection between the prediction and its fulfilment is not clearly discernible, and in these cases it has been supposed that the evangelist quotes the words of the prophet by way of accommodation or illustration.² And sometimes words are given in the form of a citation, which are not to be found in these precise terms in the Old Testament, so that there is a difficulty in knowing to what prophecy the evangelist refers.³

In the Gospel of Matthew there are four quotations which in themselves are either of doubtful application or obscure in meaning.

I. The first is Matt. ii. 15: *ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος· ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐκάλεσα τὸν υἱόν μου*: "that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Lord through the prophet, saying, Out of Egypt did I call My Son."

The words are quoted with special reference to the flight of Mary and Joseph into Egypt, and are stated as a prediction of that event. The quotation is from Hos. xi. 1, and is taken from the Hebrew, with which it literally agrees. It differs from the Septuagint, which reads: "Out of Egypt

¹ Roberts' *Greek, the Language of Christ*, p. 135.

² See Matt. ii. 15, 17, 18.

³ See Matt. ii. 23.

did I call His children.”¹ Some suppose that the difference between the Hebrew and the Septuagint arose from the difference in the Hebrew vowel pointing; but it would rather appear that the Septuagint translators must have read לְבָנַי instead of בָּנָי. The allusion by the prophet Hosea was probably to the message of Moses to Pharaoh, being the only passage where Israel is called the son of God: “Thus saith the Lord, Israel is My son, My firstborn: and I have said unto thee, Let My son go, that he may serve Me” (Ex. iv. 22, 23). The nation of Israel was God’s adopted son, chosen from among the nations of the world.

The words of the prophet are rather a historical statement than a prediction. They refer to a past transaction rather than to a future event.² The deliverance of the Israelites from Egyptian bondage is evidently the event alluded to. Hence it is asked, How can this historical event, which refers to the nation of Israel, possibly be a prediction which has received its fulfilment in our Lord’s sojourn in and return from the land of Egypt?

The solutions which have been given of this difficulty are manifold. Dr. Lindsay Alexander supposes that the passage is not a citation from the Old Testament, but one of the traditions of the elders handed down among the Jews, namely, that the Messiah should sojourn in Egypt.³ Others think that it is used by way of illustration, being a proverbial expression to denote deliverance from any impending danger.⁴ And others suppose that the words are spoken by way of accommodation: that as Israel was brought out of Egypt, so was the Messiah.⁵ But it seems more correct to regard it as a secondary or typical prophecy.⁶ Israel was a type of Christ: he is called God’s son, because the Messiah, God’s true Son, was to spring from him. In God’s dealings

¹ ἔξ Αἰγύπτου μετεκάλεσα τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ.

² ἐκάλεσα, did I call, or I called.

³ *Connexion of the Old and New Testaments*, p. 486.

⁴ *Chandler’s Defence of Christianity*.

⁵ *Hill’s Divinity Lectures*, vol. i. p. 177.

⁶ Matthew was a strict Hebrew, deeply imbued with Jewish notions, and saw in the incidents of Jewish history types and foreshadowings of the Gospel.

with Israel there is a typical reference to Christ: the Old Testament is but a prediction of the New:¹ Christ is the Alpha and Omega of revelation. As all the sacrifices under the law were but types and emblems of the great sacrifice of Christ for sin, as the Levitical ritual prefigured the gospel dispensation, so the dealings of God with Israel had a spiritual reference, and were fulfilled in Christ. There are what have been termed secondary prophecies: predictions which are capable of a twofold application, which receive a primary but partial fulfilment in some person or event in Jewish history, and a secondary and more complete fulfilment in the Messiah: prophecies which, as Lord Bacon says, "are not fulfilled punctually at once, but have springing and germinating accomplishment."² Of course this infusion of a spiritual meaning into the Old Testament quotations must be made with the greatest caution; and perhaps it is only justifiable when such a meaning is given by the inspired writers themselves.

II. Another quotation, which has given rise to much dispute, is from a prophecy of Jeremiah, which is said to have received its fulfilment in the slaughter of the infants of Bethlehem: τότε ἐπληρώθη τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἰερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος· φωνὴ ἐν Ῥαμὰ ἠκούσθη, κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁδυρμὸς πολὺς· Ῥαχὴλ κλαίονσα τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς, καὶ οὐκ ᾔθελεν παρακληθῆναι, ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶν. "Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremiah the prophet, saying, A voice was heard in Ramah, weeping and great mourning, Rachel weeping for her children: and she would not be comforted, because they are not" (Matt. ii. 17, 18).

This quotation, taken from Jer. xxxi. 15, differs from the Hebrew and the Septuagint; but the variations are of no importance. It is impossible to say from which of the two sources it has been taken. In all probability the words are quoted from memory; for there is no reason to assert, with certain critics, that they are taken from some other translation.

This is also one of those prophecies which admit of a

¹ "In the Old Testament, the New Testament lies concealed; in the New, the Old lies revealed." Augustine.

² Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*.

twofold application: a primary application to the event which occurred at the time when it was uttered, and a secondary application to the Messiah. In its primary sense it is not a prediction, but a historical statement. It has been referred to two events in the history of Israel. Some suppose that the reference is to the captivity of Israel by Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, when the Israelite captives were assembled at Ramah, where a number were put to death, and the rest led captive to Nineveh. But there is no mention of this fact in history. Others, with more probability, refer it to the assembling of the Jewish captives by Nebuzaradan, the general of Nebuchadnezzar, at Ramah, from which they were led bound in chains to Babylon (Jer. xl. 1). It refers to the lamentation which was then made on account of the destruction and captivity of the nation. Rachel is by a bold personification represented as rising from her tomb,¹ deploring with bitter wailing the great calamity which had befallen her offspring.

But whilst the words may have a primary application to the deportation of the Jewish captives from Ramah to Babylon (Jer. xl. 1), it received, according to the evangelist, a secondary application in the slaughter by Herod of the infants at Bethlehem. In its first application it is a historical statement; in its secondary application it is a prediction which has received its fulfilment. There are, undoubtedly, difficulties connected with this view. Bethlehem was a town of Judæa, and the Jews were the direct offspring of Leah, not of Rachel; on the other hand, the Benjamites, who were her descendants, were identified and bound up with the Jews so as to become one nation, and thus the nation, as a whole, might well be considered as the descendants of Rachel; and a certain allowance must be made for a bold poetical personification. Nor was Ramah the same as Bethlehem, but a village a short distance from it;² but the slaughter of the infants might have extended to it, as we read that Herod slew all the children in Bethlehem, and in all the borders thereof (Matt. ii. 16).

¹ Rachel was buried at Bethlehem, Gen. xxxv. 19.

² Only about a mile distant.

The question which here meets us is, How can that which refers to the captivity of the Jews by Nebuchadnezzar be applied to the massacre of the children of Bethlehem? It has been shown that the Jews refer the prophecy to a much later period than the Babylonish captivity, and apply it to the disasters which befell their country under Vespasian and Hadrian.¹ Josephus refers the prophecies of Jeremiah, not only to the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, but to the similar destruction by Titus.² The Babylonish captivity was a striking incident in Jewish history, and made such a deep and lasting impression on the nation, as to be often referred to by them, and applied to other similar calamities. In this way, according to many commentators, it has been applied to the massacre of the children of Bethlehem. Thus Calvin says: "The prediction of Jeremiah having been accomplished at that time (the time when it was given), Matthew does not mean that it foretold what Herod would do, but that the coming of Christ occasioned a renewal of that mourning which had been experienced many centuries before by the tribe of Benjamin."³ We consider this, then, as a secondary prophecy; and if we admit the inspiration of the evangelist, we must also admit the propriety of this application.

III. The next passage which claims attention is Matt. ii. 23: *ὅπως πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν, ὅτι Ναζωραῖος κληθήσεται*: "that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets, that He should be called a Nazarene."⁴

The reference here is to our Lord's residence in the town or village of Nazareth. This is said to be in accordance with the predictions of the prophets. But these words are to be found *verbatim* in no prophetic writing of the Old Testament. Nor does the evangelist refer to any particular

¹ Marsh's *Michælis*, vol. i. pp. 210, 211.

² Josephus, *Antiquities*, x. 5. 1.

³ Calvin's *Commentary on the Gospels*, *in loco*.

⁴ The Christians were at an early period called Nazarenes, as in the address of the orator Tertullus (Acts xxiv. 5). Most probably in this instance the name is taken from the town of Nazareth.

prophet or prophecy; the word is in the plural (*προφητῶν*), as if the statement referred to the general consensus of the prophets.

Chrysostom and Theophylact suppose that it is a lost prophecy, either handed down by tradition, or contained in some prophetic work which is no longer in existence. This view has been adopted by Bengel.¹ Nor is there anything unreasonable in such a supposition. We learn from the Old Testament that many prophetic writings have perished: what remains may be a mere fragment of what was written. But it is improbable that Matthew would appeal to a lost prophecy, because in his time the canon of the Old Testament had been fixed. Besides, the words *διὰ τῶν προφητῶν* would seem to have a wider reference than to a single prophecy.

Another hypothesis is that the reference is to the lowly condition of the Messiah—that He was a despised person (Isa. liii. 3). The allusion was to the suffering character of the Messiah, in opposition to the view then prevalent among the Jews of an exalted Messiah. The whole province of Galilee was looked upon by the Jews in a depreciatory light. "Search, and see: that out of Galilee ariseth no prophet" (John vii. 52). And Nazareth was the despised town of a despised province: it appears to have become a proverbial expression: "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" (John i. 47). Hence it is supposed that when it is said, "He shall be called a Nazarene," that is, an inhabitant of Nazareth, the reference is to His despised condition. Such is the interpretation adopted by Michaelis, Kuinoel, Olshausen, Ebrard, Lange, Horne. But it does not appear that the inhabitants of Nazareth as such were pre-eminently despised: the above-mentioned words of Nathanael may refer, not to the inhabitants, but to the obscurity and smallness of the town. Nazareth was a poor town: it is mentioned neither in the Old Testament nor by Josephus. Can any good thing come out of Nazareth? Can such an obscure town give rise to such an exalted person as the great Messiah?

¹ Bengel's *Unomon, in loco*, trans. vol. i. p. 135.

A third explanation refers the term Nazarene, not to the town of Nazareth, but to the order of the Nazarites. Thus it was said of Samson: "The child shall be a Nazarite unto God" (Judg. xiii. 5). In the Septuagint the words are *Ναζὶρ θεοῦ*, or, according to the reading of the Alexandrian manuscript, *Ναζιραῖον τῷ θεῷ*. This is the view adopted by Tertullian, Jerome, Erasmus, Calvin, Beza, Grotius, Hilgenfeld, and others. Thus Calvin says: "Matthew does not derive Nazarene from Nazareth, as if this were its strict and proper etymology, but only makes an allusion (a play upon the word). The word נָזִיר or Nazarite signifies holy and devoted to God, derived from נָזַר, to separate."¹ The Nazarites were men separated or consecrated to God. Thus, among the Jews, Samson and Samuel were Nazarites, and so also was John the Baptist. Those who hold this view refer this prophecy to the consecration of the Messiah. But our Lord was not a Nazarite in the strict sense of the term. He did not take upon Himself any Nazarite vows: His character and conduct were in this respect a contrast to the Nazarite John the Baptist. He was not an ascetic: "the Son of Man came eating and drinking" (Matt. xi. 19). He did not, like His forerunner, withdraw into the desert, and live the life of a recluse; but He mingled freely in human society, and thus could not be regarded as a true Nazarite.²

The majority of expositors see in the appellation Nazarene an allusion to נֶזֶר (*Nezer*), a Branch, the title conferred by the prophets on the Messiah. Thus Isaiah says: "There shall come forth a shoot out of the stock of Jesse, and a Branch (נֶזֶר) out of his roots shall bear fruit" (Isa. xi. 1).³ And a similar title is applied to the Messiah in other prophecies (Isa. iv. 2; Jer. xxiii. 5, xxxiii. 15; Zech. iii. 8, vi. 12), though in these prophecies the word employed is צִמָּח (*Zemach*). This hypothesis is adopted by Gieseler, Bleek, De Wette, Meyer,⁴

¹ *In loco*.

² The term *Ναζωραῖος* is not identical with Nazarite.

³ In the Septuagint the word is *Ζυθος*.

⁴ Thus Meyer observes: "In Isa. xi. 1 the Messiah, as the offspring of David, is called נֶזֶר, *shoot*, with which in the representation of the evangelist this designation was identified."

Hengstenberg, Davidson, Schaff, and Mansel.¹ According to this view we have a direct reference to the prophecy of Isaiah. But it is to be observed that נִצָּח is only used by Isaiah, and the references to the Branch in the other prophecies cannot be employed, as it is an entirely different word that is used, which has no resemblance to Nazarene.

IV. The fourth example of a doubtful quotation is still more difficult, as it would seem that Matthew makes an erroneous quotation, giving the name of one prophet, whilst he quotes from another: τότε ἐπληρώθη τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἱερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος, Καὶ ἔλαβον τὰ τριάκοντα ἀργύρια, τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ τιμημένου, ὃν ἐτιμήσαντο ἀπὸ υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ· καὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμέως· καθὰ συνέταξέν μοι κύριος: "Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremiah the prophet, saying, And they took² the thirty pieces of silver, the price of Him that was priced, whom *certain* of the children of Israel did price: and they gave them for the potter's field, as the Lord appointed me" (Matt. xxvii. 9, 10).

The first thing to attend to is the criticism of the passage. The word Ἱερεμίου is omitted in the cursive manuscript 33 (the Codex Colbertinus), which is considered as the most valuable cursive manuscript extant, and in 157, a manuscript which belonged to the ducal library in Urbino, but now lodged in the Vatican. Ζαχαρίου is contained in the cursive manuscript 22. Among the Fathers, Tatian omits Ἱερεμίου. With regard to the Versions, we must take into account the statement of Augustine: "This ascription of the passage to Jeremiah is not contained in all the codices of the Gospels, but some of them state simply that it was spoken by the prophet." The codices to which he refers are those of the Old Latin: and in two important manuscripts of that Version—the Codex Vercellensis (*a*) and the Codex Veronensis (*b*)—the word Jeremiah is wanting. It is also omitted in the

¹ *Speaker's Commentary*: the Gospel of Matthew, *in loco*. The first part of this commentary to ch. xxvi. was by Dean Mansel; the remainder was by Canon Cook.

² Ἔλαβον may be either the first person singular, *I took*, or the third person plural, *they took*.

Peshito Syriac and in the Persic Version. On the other hand, *Ἱερεμίου* is the reading of all the uncial manuscripts, of the cursive manuscripts except those above mentioned, of all the Fathers who refer to the passage, as Origen, Jerome, Eusebius, and of all the Versions except the Peshito and the Persic. Thus, then, the undoubted preponderance of authorities is in favour of the retention of *Ἱερεμίου*. At the same time, if conjectural emendation is at all admissible, here would be a fit occasion for its application, and accordingly Origen and Eusebius conjecture that *Ζαχαρίου* was the original reading. But when we take into account the multiplicity of critical authorities and their variety, conjectural emendation in the criticism of the New Testament must be regarded as wholly inadmissible.

It is generally admitted that Matthew does not quote from the prophecy of Jeremiah, in which the words are not found, but from Zech. xi. 12, 13, where words somewhat similar occur. When, however, we compare the words in Matthew's Gospel with the Hebrew and the Septuagint, we find not only a variation from both, but such a material difference as does not usually occur in the quotations by the sacred writers from the Old Testament. The passage in the Hebrew is thus translated in the Revised Version: "And I said unto them, If ye think good, give me my hire; and if not, forbear. So they weighed for my hire thirty *pieces* of silver. And the Lord said unto me, Cast it unto the potter: the goodly price that I was prized at of them. And I took the thirty *pieces* of silver, and cast them unto the potter in the house of the Lord." The passage in the Septuagint¹ may be thus translated: "And I will say to them: If it be good in your eyes, give *me* my price, or refuse it. And they weighed for my price thirty pieces of silver. And the Lord said unto me, Put them into the furnace, and I will see whether it is

¹ The passage in the Septuagint is: καὶ ἔρῳ πρὸς αὐτούς· εἰ καλὸν ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν ἐστί, δότε τὸν μισθόν μου ἢ ἀπείπασθε· καὶ ἔστησαν τὸν μισθόν μου τριάκοντα ἀργυροῦς. Καὶ εἶπε κύριος πρὸς μέ, Κάθετε αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ χωνευτήριον καὶ σκέψομαι εἰ δόκιμὸν ἐστὶν ὃν τρόπον ἐδοκιμάσθην ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. Καὶ ἔλαβον τοὺς τριάκοντα ἀργυροῦς καὶ ἐνέβαλον αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν οἶκον κυρίου εἰς τὸ χωνευτήριον.

tested, as I have been tested for their sakes. So I took the thirty pieces of silver and cast them into the house of the Lord, into the furnace." The words in Matthew are different from both. Neither in the Hebrew nor in the Septuagint is there any mention of the field which was purchased by money. The clause, "And they gave them for the potter's field, as the Lord appointed me," is found in neither of these sources. According to the Septuagint, the money is cast into the furnace for the purpose of being tested; according to the Hebrew, it is given to the potter; and according to both, it is cast into the house of the Lord: none of which particulars is contained in the quotation as given by Matthew.—The explanations given of this difficult passage are very numerous. We only mention the most plausible.

It is maintained that in the original the word Jeremiah is omitted and that Matthew wrote simply: "That which was spoken by the prophet." This is the explanation adopted by Bengel, Beza, Dr. Adam Clarke, and Dr. Doddridge. We have already considered the critical reading of the passage, and have found that the overwhelming preponderance of evidence is in favour of the retention of Jeremiah, and that in the case of the New Testament conjectural emendation is inadmissible. We are consequently precluded from adopting this explanation.

It is supposed that there is in the passage no reference to the prophecy of Zechariah, but that it is a lost prophecy of Jeremiah. The words, it is affirmed, are so different from those of Zechariah, as found, whether in the Hebrew or in the Septuagint, that they cannot be considered as a quotation from it.¹ Jerome affirms that he had seen the passage in an apocryphal Book of Jeremiah written in Hebrew in the hands of the Nazarenes;² and hence it is inferred that it is from

¹ Thus Dean Burgon says: "Matthew is charged with a bad memory, because he ascribes to Jeremy the prophet words which are said to be found in Zechariah. Strange that men should be heard to differ about a plain matter of fact! I have never been able to find these words in Zechariah yet."

² The words of Jerome are: *Legi nuper in quodam Hebraico volumine, quod Nazarenæ sectæ mihi Hebræus obtulit, Hieremie Apocryphum in quo hæc ad verbum scripta reperi.* *Commentary on Matthew.*

this apocryphal book that Matthew quotes. Thus Michaelis remarks: "As far as I am able to judge, the only mode of solving the difficulty is to suppose that Matthew has borrowed the quotation from some fragment of Jeremiah which is no longer extant."¹ This is, however, an improbable solution, as the language of Jerome is indefinite, no such apocryphal Book of Jeremiah being elsewhere mentioned, and as similar words, though certainly not identical, are to be found in Zechariah.²

A much more plausible solution is that the passage contained in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters of Zechariah did not originally constitute a part of that prophetic book, but was written by Jeremiah, and inserted into the prophecy of Zechariah, just as the words of Agur are attached to the Proverbs of Solomon. This hypothesis was first suggested by Mede, and afterwards adopted with various modifications by Bishop Kidder, Archbishop Newcome, Lowth, Whiston, Dr. Pye Smith, and Dr. Samuel Davidson in his *Hermeneutics*. So also Bertholdt, Michaelis, Rosenmüller, Knobel, Hitzig, Ewald, and Bleek, who, although they do not go the length of asserting that these chapters were written by Jeremiah, yet maintain that they were not the composition of Zechariah. The references in these chapters, it is said, relate, not to the time of Zechariah, but to the time of Jeremiah. Thus it is predicted that the pride of Assyria shall be brought down (Zech. x. 11), which was an accomplished fact in the time of Zechariah, but might form the subject of prediction in the time of Jeremiah. So also Gaza is threatened with destruction (Zech. ix. 5), which occurred under Nebuchadnezzar, in the time of Jeremiah, long before the days of Zechariah. There is also a prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem (Zech. xi. 1), which has been referred to the time of the Romans under Titus, but which would hardly have been

¹ Marsh's *Michaelis*, vol. i. p. 242. Similarly M'Clellan: "Matthew cited a prophecy *spoken by Jeremiah*, not *written in his book*; and several *spoken* prophecies of Jeremiah, as doubtless of other prophets, are not recorded." M'Clellan, *New Testament*, p. 606; Whitby, *in loco*.

² Eusebius supposes that the Jews designedly removed the words from the prophecy of Jeremiah. See Sanday's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 47.

given in the time of Zechariah, when the Jews were to be encouraged to rebuild their temple, and which is therefore more suitable as a prediction of the destruction of the city by Nebuchadnezzar in the time of Jeremiah. The prediction regarding the prosperity of Tyre and its subsequent destruction (Zech. ix. 3, 4), though it might apply to the capture of that city by Alexander the Great, receives a better interpretation by referring it to its prosperity and subsequent destruction by Nebuchadnezzar in the time of Jeremiah.¹ But admitting the plausibility of this hypothesis, it cannot be the true solution. The prophecy of Zechariah was as complete in the time of Matthew as now: there were no divisions in it: and Matthew could not suppose that what he quoted from that prophecy were not the words of Zechariah, but of Jeremiah. The division of the prophecy under different authors, whether justifiable or not, is the result of a higher criticism unknown in the days of the evangelist.²

It has been affirmed that this prediction is given under the name of Jeremiah, because the prophecy of Jeremiah was the first book of the prophets. The Old Testament received a threefold division—the law, the prophets, and the psalms; and the first book of the division of the prophets is said to have been Jeremiah. The order in the time of Matthew was Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, the twelve minor prophets. The same is still the order in the Talmud and in the manuscripts of the French and German Jews. Thus it is supposed that Jeremiah gave his name to the division of the prophets, just as David gave his name to the division of the Psalms, and Solomon to the Book of Proverbs. When, then, Matthew uses the name Jeremiah, he does not allude to the Book of Jeremiah, but to the volume of the prophets. “I do confidently assert,” observes Dr. John Lightfoot, “that Matthew wrote Jeremiah as we read it, and that it was very readily understood and

¹ This hypothesis is stated with great fulness and supported by very ingenious and plausible arguments by Bishop Kidder, *Demonstration of the Messias*, vol. ii. pp. 196–217. See also Davidson's *Hermeneutics*, pp. 463–465.

² See a valuable note by Dr. Turpie in his *New Testament View of the Old*, pp. 153–157.

received by his countrymen," because Jeremiah of old had the first place among the prophets. "When, therefore, Matthew produced a text of Zechariah under the name of Jeremiah, he only cites the volume of the prophets under his name who stood first among the prophets."¹ This opinion has been adopted by Scrivener, Dr. David Brown, and Canon Cook in the *Speaker's Bible*. The evidence, however, is insufficient to prove that Jeremiah, and not Isaiah, stood at the head of the division "the prophets."

Some maintain that the statement in St. Matthew's Gospel is not a mistake, but a correct assertion, and that in reality the quotation is from Jeremiah and not from Zechariah. This is certainly a bold assertion, as only by the most forced interpretation, and by a defiance of all the laws of exegesis, can the passage be considered as a prophecy of Jeremiah. The passage in Jeremiah which has been fixed upon is xxxii. 6-9, where Jeremiah is told to purchase from his uncle a field in Anathoth. The only resemblance here is the purchase of a field by the commandment of the Lord. This is supposed to be implied in the words, "and they gave them for the potter's field, as the Lord appointed me." But the resemblance is very faint. All the other parts of the prediction, the price, the thirty pieces of silver, the value set upon the Messiah, are considered as parenthetic clauses. Of course, if we are thus permitted to cut and carve the prophecy, we can make it agree with any prediction which has a few similar words, but we destroy its whole value as a prediction.

Somewhat similar to this last solution, or at least connected with it, is the supposition that the quotation is a conjoint prophecy from Zechariah and Jeremiah: that the prediction concerning the particular price, namely, the thirty pieces of silver, is taken from Zechariah; and that the other part of the prediction, concerning the buying of the field, is from Jeremiah. This opinion is adopted by Elsner, Hofmann, Lange, and Dr. Patrick Fairbairn.² Elsner would supply a connecting particle: "That was fulfilled which was spoken by

¹ Lightfoot's *Horæ Hebraicæ*: Exercitationes upon St. Matthew, vol. xi. p. 345, Pitman's edition.

² Fairbairn's *Hermeneutic Manual*, pp. 440-448.

Jeremiah *and* the prophet," an improbable form of expression. Still there is some plausibility in the above explanation. There are examples of such conjunct prophecies in the New Testament. Mark i. 2, 3, although quoted as a prediction of Isaiah, is in reality taken both from Malachi and Isaiah (Mal. iii. 1 ; Isa. xl. 3); and if Matthew quoted from memory, he might easily have included two prophecies in one. But the reference to the purchase of the field in Anathoth, mentioned in Jeremiah, is too vague and remote to be regarded as part of the prophecy.

Another hypothesis is that Jeremiah is designedly mentioned by the Spirit, in order to show the unity of prophecy. No doubt the prophecy is from Zechariah; but Jeremiah is named because both prophets were inspired by the same Spirit, both were penmen of the same Author. This strange solution is advanced by Augustine: "It may have been the case," he observes, "that when Matthew was engaged in composing his Gospel, the word Jeremiah occurred to his mind instead of Zechariah. Such an inaccuracy he would most undoubtedly have corrected, had he not reflected that it was not without a purpose that the name of one prophet had been suggested instead of another. . . . This might fitly suggest the duty of accepting unhesitatingly whatever the Holy Spirit has given expression to through the agency of these prophets, and of looking upon their individual communications as those of the whole body, and their collective communications as those of each separately. If, then, it is the case that words spoken by Jeremiah are really as much Zechariah's as Jeremiah's, and, on the other hand, that words spoken by Zechariah are really as much Jeremiah's as they are Zechariah's, what necessity was there for Matthew to correct his text when he read over what he had written, and found that the one name had occurred to him instead of the other?"¹ It is singular that this most improbable, we might almost say extravagant, solution, wherein the Holy Spirit is regarded as justifying an inaccuracy, has been adopted by Bishop Wordsworth: "By referring here, not to Zechariah, where we read the passage, but to Jeremiah, where we do not read it, the

¹ *Consensus Evv.* iii. 7. 30.

Holy Spirit teaches us not to regard the prophets as the authors of their prophecies, but to trace their prophecies, flowing down through them, in different channels from age to age, until we see them all at length springing forth from the one living Fountain of wisdom in the Godhead itself."

Others at once admit that Matthew has committed a mistake in attributing a prophecy of Zechariah to Jeremiah. They do not suppose that the inspiration of the sacred writers is inconsistent with slight errors in their writings.¹ This opinion, first suggested by Origen, has been adopted by Calvin, Mill, Griesbach, De Wette, Meyer,² and Alford. Thus Calvin passes over the error with the remark: "How the name of Jeremiah crept in, I confess that I do not know, nor do I give myself the trouble to inquire. The passage itself plainly shows that the name Jeremiah has been put down by mistake instead of Zechariah; for in Jeremiah we find nothing of this sort, nor anything that even approaches to it."³ And Alford observes: "The citation is not from Jeremiah, and is probably quoted from memory, and inaccurately; we have similar mistakes in two places in the apology of Stephen—Acts vii. 4, 16, and in Mark ii. 26. Various means of evading this have been resorted to, which are not worth recounting."⁴ Such a solution certainly cuts the knot, but must only be resorted to as a last expedient.

The mistake, for mistake we believe there is, need not necessarily be referred to the author, but to the copyist. Some think that the error originated in the translation of the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew into Greek.⁵ This, of course, assumes that the Gospel of Matthew was originally written in Hebrew, which, though probable, has not been demonstrated. If, however, there were a Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, it is a possible solution. But it might also

¹ See Wright's *Bampton Lectures* for 1878, p. 336, note.

² "The passage here quoted is a very free adaptation of Zech. xi. 12, 13, Ἰερεμίου being a slip of the memory." Meyer's *Commentary on Matthew*, *in loco*.

³ Calvin, *in loco*.

⁴ Alford's *Greek Testament* on Matt. xxvii. 9.

⁵ Some suppose that the mistake may have arisen from the translator mistaking יר (a contraction for Jeremiah) for יד (hand). Henderson, *Com. on Zech.*

have arisen from the earliest copyist of Matthew's Gospel. "It is," says Dr. Morison, "a *graphical erratum*. And it would appear to have crept into the original edition of the Gospel, the first published edition. Hence its universal diffusion and its persistence from age to age. There is nothing wonderful in such an occurrence. It is precisely paralleled by the expression 'which strain *at* a gnat,' instead of 'which strain *out* a gnat,' in our English authorised translation of the Bible."¹ There is another example in 1 Tim. iv. 9, where the word *shamefacedness* is a typographical error for *shamefastness*, and is so read in the Revised Version. The word Jeremiah being found in the earliest copies of the Gospel would remain uncorrected, especially as it would be considered wrong to alter the scriptural manuscripts, and as the mistake admitted of various explanations. In some manuscripts, and in the Peshito Syriac, as we have seen, it was corrected. A mistake has been committed, and it is more justifiable to ascribe it to the copyist than to the author, or at least equally justifiable.

¹ Morison's *Commentary on Matthew*. Note on Matt. xxvii. 9. Dr. Morison gives a long and exhaustive list of the various hypotheses which have been advanced, to which list we have been indebted.

THE GOSPEL OF MARK.

LITERATURE.—The principal commentaries and dissertations on the Gospel of Mark are those of Petter on the *Gospel of Mark* (London, 1661); Fritzsche, *Evangelium Marci* (Leipzig, 1830); De Wette (Leipzig, 1846); Hilgenfeld, *Das Marcus-Evangelium nach seiner Composition, nach seiner Stellung in der Evangelien Litteratur* (Leipzig, 1880); Ewald (Göttingen, 1850); Baur, *Das Marcus-Evangelium nach seinem Ursprung und Charakter* (Tübingen, 1851); Olshausen (1853, English translation, 1863); Dr. Joseph Alexander of Princeton (New York, 1858); Alford in his *Greek Testament* (4th ed. London, 1859); Meyer (last ed. in 1894; 1st ed. 1860; 6th ed. 1878; English translation by the Rev. Robert Wallis, Edinburgh, 1880); Lange (Bielefeld, 1861; English translation by Professor Shedd, 1866); Klostermann, *Das Marcus-Evangelium nach seinem Quellenwerthe für die Evangelische Geschichte* (Göttingen, 1867); Weiss, *Das Marcus-Evangelium* (Berlin, 1872); Morison (1st ed. London, 1873; 3rd ed. 1881); Volkmar, *Marcus und die Synopse der Evangelien* (Zürich, 1876); Canon Cook in the *Speaker's Commentary* (London, 1878); Maclear in *Cambridge Bible for Schools* (London, 1886). Also Dean Burgon, *The last twelve verses of the Gospel according to Mark* (Oxford, 1871).

I. THE GENUINENESS OF THE GOSPEL.

The genuineness of the Gospel of Mark is sufficiently attested. It is true that no undoubted citations from it can be produced from the writings of the apostolic Fathers,

because the resemblance between it and the Gospels of Matthew and Luke is so close as to render it impossible to determine from which of these Gospels the citations have been taken. The first undoubted reference to it is found in that famous passage, quoted by Eusebius from Papias' *Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις* (A.D. 120), to which we have formerly adverted.¹ "This also the Presbyter said: Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately, though not indeed in order, whatever he remembered of the things said or done by Christ."² It is to be observed that Papias gives this statement on the authority of the Presbyter. Without doubt John the Presbyter is here meant, whether he be, as some suppose, the Apostle John himself, or a person, otherwise unknown, who was an immediate disciple of the Lord, and whose testimony consequently carries us back to the days of the apostles. It has indeed been maintained by many biblical critics that Papias cannot here refer to our canonical Mark, but to some original document which lay at the foundation of Mark's Gospel, because his description does not correspond with our Gospel of Mark. We have already referred to this objection,³ and shall afterwards more fully discuss it.

Justin Martyr (A.D. 150) has the following direct citation from Mark: "It is said that He changed the name of one of the apostles to Peter; and it is written in his Memoirs that this occurred, as well as that He changed the names of other two brothers, the sons of Zebedee, to Boanerges, which means the sons of thunder."⁴ This title given to the sons of Zebedee is only found in the Gospel of Mark (iii. 17).

The Muratorian canon (A.D. 170) is mutilated at its commencement, but it evidently contained a reference to the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, for the fragment commences with the words: "The third Gospel is that according to Luke."⁵

¹ See p. 19, where the original Greek is given.

² Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 39.

³ See *supra*, pp. 66, 67.

⁴ *Dial. c. Tryph.* ch. cvi.

⁵ *Tertium Evangelii librum secundum Lucam.*

Irenæus (A.D. 180) has many references to Mark, and directly affirms that he is the author of the second Gospel: "Wherefore also Mark, the interpreter and follower of Peter, does thus commence his Gospel narrative: The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God."¹ "Also toward the conclusion of his Gospel, Mark says: 'So, then, after the Lord Jesus had spoken unto them, He was received up into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God.'"² "Those who separate Jesus from Christ, alleging that Christ remained impassible, but that it was Jesus who suffered, preferring the Gospel by Mark, if they read it with the love of the truth, may have their errors rectified."³

Besides these quotations, there are the patristic statements of the intimate connection which exists between the Gospel of Mark and the preaching of Peter, made by Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, Origen, and others, to which we shall afterwards refer. There is also the testimony of the two chief versions, the Syriac (A.D. 150) and the Old Latin (A.D. 170).

Nor are internal evidences wanting. The attribution of this Gospel to such a comparatively obscure author as Mark, is in itself a presumption in its favour. If the design was to impose it upon the Church, it would have been assigned to one of the chief apostles, especially to Peter, whose preaching, according to the Fathers, it contains, and not to one who was not an apostle, and perhaps not even a disciple, and who, provided he be the same as the Mark who is mentioned in the Acts, so far from being an eminent teacher in the Church, deserted Paul and Barnabas on their missionary journey. But especially does the Gospel contain in itself the evidences of its genuineness. The narrative is of the most graphic description; little incidents are mentioned which could only be the observation of an eye-witness.⁴ There is a vividness, a freshness, and a naturalness in this Gospel which give it the stamp of truth.

¹ *Adv. Hær.* iii. 10. 6.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* iii. 11. 7.

⁴ It is not necessary to assert that Mark himself was an eye-witness, but that the narrative contained in his Gospel was the report of an eye-witness.

Yet notwithstanding these external and internal evidences in favour of the Gospel of Mark, its genuineness has been frequently disputed. The objections to it arise chiefly from the difficulties in which the question as to the origin of the Synoptic Gospels is involved, and not from any defect in the evidence. The first who called in question its genuineness appears to have been Schleiermacher, and he has been followed by Baur, Weisse, Gfrörer, Credner,¹ Schweigler, Hilgenfeld, Ewald, Köstlin, Reuss, Schenkel, and Dr. Samuel Davidson.

The chief objection brought forward is, that the statement of Papias is not applicable to our canonical Gospel of Mark.² The genuineness of Mark's Gospel, it is asserted, rests entirely on the testimony of Papias; the other authorities come too late. But the description which Papias gives of the writing of Mark cannot apply to our canonical Gospel. Papias asserts that Mark, the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately, but not in order (*οὐ τάξει*), whatever he remembered of the things said or done by Christ; and that he followed Peter who adapted his discourses to the needs of his hearers, but "with no intention of giving a connected account of our Lord's discourses" (*οὐχ ὥσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λόγων*). These words, it is maintained, cannot refer to the Gospel of Mark, as we now possess it, because that Gospel, so far from not being written in order and destitute of connection, is the most orderly and connected of the three Synoptic Gospels; indeed it is on its chronological order that harmonies of the Gospels are in general formed.

It is to be observed that this is the mere opinion of Papias, or of the Presbyter to whom he refers, and that on a subject which admits of a variety of opinions; nor are his words to be pushed too far. There is a considerable variety of opinion as to what Papias intends by *οὐ τάξει*. Tholuck supposes that he refers to the incompleteness of the Gospel,—that Mark merely gives a collection of anecdotes without observing any definite order with regard to the time of the occurrence of the incidents stated. Schenkel supposes that the words

¹ *Einführung*, pp. 123, 124.

² So Schleiermacher, Credner, and Weisse.

indicate the occasional manner of Mark's writing; that he did not compose his Gospel continuously at one time, but in parts at various times. Others think that οὐ τάξει refers, not to the actions, but to the discourses of Christ, and indicates that Mark gave no continued account of our Lord's discourses (σύνταξις τῶν κυριακῶν λόγων). But, apparently, what he affirms is not that there was no order in the composition of Mark's Gospel, but that the events are not related in a chronological order. Papias asserts the accuracy of the events which Mark relates, that "Mark wrote down accurately every thing that he remembered," that "Mark committed no error," but for some reason he was dissatisfied with his arrangement. The want of chronological order is to some extent applicable to all the three Synoptics. The evangelists did not relate the events of the life of Christ chronologically; they do not profess to give a biography of Christ; their Gospels rather consist of memorabilia or collections of the remarkable incidents in His life. The words of Papias are to be understood comparatively. It is disputed with what Gospel he compares the order in Mark. Some suppose that Matthew's Gospel, to which he afterwards alludes, was in his view; others, as Ewald and Bishop Lightfoot, think that it is the order followed in the Gospel of John; Dr. Salmon thinks that what Papias regarded as the right order was that of the Gospel of Luke.¹

It has been maintained that there must have been an original Gospel of Mark, of which our canonical Gospel is a recension. Those who adopt this opinion suppose that a collection of incidents in the life of Jesus, based perhaps, as the Fathers testify, on the preaching of Peter, was drawn up by Mark, one of his disciples, without any order, and that it is to this collection that Papias alludes. Afterwards, it is supposed, a succeeding writer composed the second Gospel, taking this original gospel as his basis, arranging the incidents in order, and adding to them additional material drawn from oral tradition.

We have already referred to this hypothesis of an original Mark,² and shall not again recur to it. Those who

¹ Salmon's *Introduction*, p. 121.

² See *supra*, pp. 66, 67.

adopt it differ widely as to its nature and extent. Ewald and Holtzmann suppose that the original Mark was longer than our present Gospel, containing a greater number of the incidents and discourses of Christ than our present Mark. Paul Ewald supposes that i. 1-3, vii. 24, viii. 26, and xvi. 9-20 are interpolations.¹ Weizsäcker, on the contrary, considers that it was shorter, and that our present Mark is an enlargement. In the writings of the Fathers there is no reference to a Gospel of Mark different from that which we now possess. "The assumption," observes Meyer, "of an original treatise which has been lost would only have a historical point of support in the event of the contents of the fragment of Papias, so far as it speaks of the treatise of Mark, not really suiting our canonical Mark. But since, on a correct interpretation, it contains nothing with which our Mark is at variance, and therefore affords no ground for the assertion that it is speaking of another book ascribed to Mark, it remains the most ancient and the most weighty historical testimony for the originality of our second Gospel, and, at the same time, for the high historical value of its contents."²

II. THE AUTHOR OF THE GOSPEL.

This Gospel has been uniformly assigned by the Fathers to Mark; it is known in the Greek manuscripts of the New Testament as *Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μάρκον*. If we assume that this Mark is the same as he who is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, the following incidents in his life are recorded. He was a Jew by birth, being mentioned by Paul as among those of the circumcision (Col. iv. 10, 11), and bore the Hebrew name of John. But, like many of his time, he had also the Roman name of Mark. Hence he is called "John, whose surname was Mark" (*Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Μάρκος*, Acts xii. 12, 25, xv. 37). In the Acts he is generally called by his Hebrew name John (Acts xiii. 5, 13); whilst in the Epistles and in the Fathers the Hebrew name is dropped and the Latin name Mark retained. We

¹ Ewald, Paul, *Evangelienfrage*, pp. 165, 170, 178-191.

² Meyer's *Commentary on Mark*, vol. i. Eng. trans. p. 12.

learn that his mother's name was Mary, and that she had a house in Jerusalem, where the disciples were accustomed to assemble (Acts xii. 12). In the Epistle to the Colossians (iv. 10), Mark is called *ὁ ἀνεψιὸς Βαρνάβα*, which may either denote nephew or cousin; in the Revised Version it is translated cousin. From this relationship to Barnabas it has been arbitrarily inferred that he was a Levite. It was probably by reason of this relationship that he was brought in contact with Paul; for we read that Barnabas and Saul returned from Jerusalem, and took with them John, whose surname was Mark (Acts xii. 25). He accompanied these apostles on their first missionary journey as their assistant or minister (*ὑπηρέτης*, Acts xiii. 5); but either because his zeal waxed cold, or because the dangers and difficulties of the mission alarmed him, he deserted them at Perga, and returned to Jerusalem (Acts xiii. 13). Four years afterwards, when Paul and Barnabas proposed to proceed on a second missionary journey, Mark was the occasion of a dispute between them; Barnabas wished to take him with them, but Paul refused on account of his previous desertion; and accordingly Paul took Silas, whilst Barnabas took Mark, and departed with him to Cyprus (Acts xv. 39). This is the last notice which we have of Mark in the Acts of the Apostles. But from Paul's Epistles we learn that he was afterwards fully reconciled to Paul. He was with that apostle during his first Roman imprisonment, when he wrote the Epistles to the Colossians and Philemon (Col. iv. 10; Philem. 24). He afterwards appears to have journeyed into Asia, for during his second Roman imprisonment Paul writes to Timothy: "Take Mark, and bring him with thee: for he is useful to me for the ministering" (2 Tim. iv. 11).

Such is the scriptural account of the connection between Mark, the relation of Barnabas, and Paul. But there is also mention of a Mark in the First Epistle of Peter written from Babylon, or, as some think, from Rome. There we read: "She that is in Babylon, elect together with you, saluteth you; and so doth Mark my son" (1 Pet. v. 13). Some (Bengel, Neander, Credner, Tholuck, Dean Stanley) suppose that, when Peter calls Mark his son (*ὁ υἱός μου*), he does not

allude to a spiritual, but to a natural relationship. Thus Dean Stanley observes: "It is difficult to resist the conclusion that ἡ συνεκλεκτή is the wife of Peter; and if so, ὁ υἱός μου is not metaphorically (in which case τέκνον would be the natural word, as in 1 Tim. i. 2), but literally, his son."¹ But such an opinion is unfounded. There is no reason why Peter and Paul should not employ different words to express a spiritual relationship. Peter calls Mark his son, because he was converted by him; he was his spiritual father.

We have said that these incidents refer to Mark, the evangelist, on the assumption that he is the same person as is mentioned in the Acts and in the Pauline Epistles. Some, however, suppose that there are two Marks; one mentioned in the Acts, who was the companion of Paul, and another mentioned in the First Epistle of Peter, who was the companion of Peter. This opinion has been adopted by Grotius,² Schleiermacher, Cornelius a Lapide, Cave,³ Greswell,⁴ Baring-Gould,⁵ and Dr. David Brown of Aberdeen. There is nothing unreasonable in this supposition, nor is it contradicted by any of the statements of the Fathers of the first three centuries. The reasons for it are that Mark is in Scripture, with the exception of 1 Pet. v. 13, uniformly represented as the associate of Paul and Barnabas; and there is no allusion to any connection between him and the Apostle Peter. He was with Paul at Rome (Col. iv. 10; Philem. 24; 2 Tim. iv. 11), and could hardly approximately about the same time have been with Peter at Babylon (1 Pet. v. 13). Besides, Mark or Marcus was a very common name, borne by many illustrious Romans, as Marcus Tullius Cicero, Mark Antony, and the emperor Marcus Aurelius. Hence it has been inferred that there must have been two Marks, and that it was not Mark the relation of Barnabas, but another Mark, the companion and interpreter of Peter, who was the author of the Gospel.

¹ Stanley's *Sermons and Essays on the Apostolic Age*, p. 91, note.

² Grotius, *Proœmium in Marcum*.

³ Cave's *Lives of the Apostles*, p. 439.

⁴ Greswell's *Dissertations*, vol. i. p. 71.

⁵ Baring-Gould's *Lives of the Saints*, April 25.

On the other hand, it has been maintained that this supposition is unnecessary, and that Mark might be the companion both of Paul and Peter. After Mark had separated from Paul at the commencement of his first missionary journey and returned to Jerusalem, he might have attached himself to Peter in that city; and after he had left Barnabas in Cyprus, he might have been with Peter in the interval between that and Paul's imprisonment at Rome. Besides, a connection between Peter and Mark is hinted at in the Acts: it was to Mark's house that Peter betook himself after his miraculous deliverance from prison (Acts xii. 12). "To suppose two Marks," says Dr. John Lightfoot, "one with Peter and another with Paul, is to breed confusion where there needeth not, and to conceive that for which Scripture hath not only no ground, but is plain enough to the contrary. It is easily seen how John Mark came into familiarity both with Paul and Peter; and other Mark we can find none in the New Testament, unless of our own invention."¹ There is much, however, in favour of the theory that there were two Marks, a supposition which would remove several difficulties which arise from the long continued connection of Mark with Paul, rendering a connection with Peter improbable.

It has been supposed that Mark was the young man mentioned in his Gospel who followed Christ after all the disciples had fled, when He was led from Gethsemane to the palace of Caiaphas (Mark xiv. 52). It is narrated by the evangelist as a personal incident in a most graphic manner. Disturbed in his sleep by the tumult, and not taking time to put on his clothes, he threw a linen sheet over him, and rushed into the street to see what was the cause of the tumult: the soldiers seized him, and he left the linen cloth in their hands, and fled naked.² The objection to this is, that according to the statement of Papias, Mark was not one of Christ's disciples: "he neither heard the Lord nor followed Him"; so that if Mark himself is the person

¹ Lightfoot's *Works*, vol. iii. p. 323, edition by Pitman.

² See Greswell's *Dissertations upon a Harmony of the Gospels*, vol. i. p. 82, edition 1830.

alluded to in his Gospel, we must suppose that Papias was mistaken. The Mark mentioned in the Acts was at least at a very early period a disciple of Christ. Others go the length of supposing that it was in Mark's house that our Lord and His disciples met to celebrate the last Passover: that, being a disciple, and having a house in Jerusalem, he gave it up for the use of our Lord.¹ This, however, is a mere conjecture which rests on a very slender foundation.

There are several notices of Mark in ecclesiastical history. According to Epiphanius, he was one of Christ's seventy disciples, and one of those who left Christ on account of His words: "Except ye eat My flesh and drink My blood, ye have no life in you" (John vi. 66), but was afterwards reclaimed, and, as it were, reconverted by Peter, whose spiritual son he became.² He is uniformly known by the Fathers as the interpreter of Peter. He is represented as the founder of the Egyptian Church. Eusebius informs us that "Mark was the first who was sent to Egypt, and that he preached the Gospel which he had written, and established churches in Alexandria."³ The multitude of believers that were collected there, and lived lives of the most philosophical and excessive asceticism, was so great, that Philo thought it worth while to describe their pursuits, their meetings, their entertainments, and their whole manner of life."⁴ The allusion is to the Therapeutæ whom Philo describes; but they were not Christians, and hence this statement of Eusebius must be considered as legendary;⁵ though it may be assumed that Mark converted numbers in Alexandria, and that his preaching was of an ascetic character. Jerome tells us that Mark died a natural death in the eighth year of Nero, and that he was buried at Alexandria.⁶ Nicephorus, on the other hand,

¹ Farrar's *Messages of the Books*, p. 55, note 4.

² Epiphanius, *Hær.* li. 6.

³ That Mark founded the Church of Alexandria is also asserted by Epiphanius, *Hær.* li. 6; Jerome, *De vir. illustr.* 8; and Nicephorus, *H. E.* ii. 42.

⁴ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 16.

⁵ The Therapeutæ were a Jewish sect. Eusebius probably confounds them with the Christian monks.

⁶ *De vir. illustr.* ch. viii.

informs us that he suffered martyrdom, being cruelly put to death by an Alexandrian mob.¹ His remains were believed to have been removed to Venice, of which city he was regarded as the patron saint, and where one of the most magnificent churches in the world has been erected to his memory.

III. THE SOURCES OF MARK'S GOSPEL.

The inquiry into the sources from which Mark derived the materials for his Gospel is one of much difficulty. These sources were not, as is maintained by Griesbach and Bleek, the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. This point we have in the previous part of this Introduction fully discussed.² Mark was not a compiler from previous Gospels. His own Gospel is original and independent, and in all probability was written and published before the other two.

On the other hand, it is the uniform testimony of the Fathers that Mark was intimately associated with Peter as his interpreter. This is a tradition which is both general and undisputed. It is first mentioned by Papias in the passage so often referred to; there Mark is called *ἐρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου*. Irenæus says: "Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter (*Μάρκος ὁ μαθητὴς καὶ ἐρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου*), transmitted to us in writing these things which Peter had preached."³ Clemens Alexandrinus, according to Eusebius, says: "The Gospel according to Mark, had this occasion: As Peter had preached the word publicly at Rome, and declared the gospel by the Spirit, many that were present requested that Mark, who had followed him for a long time, and remembered his sayings, should write them out. And having composed the Gospel, he gave it to those who had requested it. When Peter learned this, he neither directly forbade nor encouraged it."⁴ Tertullian writes: "The Gospel which Mark published may be affirmed to be Peter's, whose interpreter Mark was."⁵ Origen, quoted by Eusebius, says:

¹ Nicephorus, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 43.

² See *supra*, pp. 46-48.

³ Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* iii. 1. 1; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 8.

⁴ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 14.

⁵ Tertullian, *Adv. Marcion.* iv. 5.

"The second Gospel is that according to Mark, who wrote it according to the instructions of Peter."¹ Eusebius writes at length concerning the Gospel of Mark. "So greatly did the splendour of piety illumine the minds of Peter's hearers, that they were not satisfied with hearing once only, or with the unwritten teaching of the divine Gospel, but they besought Mark—a follower of Peter, and the one whose Gospel is extant—that he would leave them a written monument of the doctrine which had been orally communicated to them. Nor did they cease until they prevailed upon him; and such was the occasion of the written Gospel which bears the name of Mark."² And to the same effect Jerome observes: "Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, at the desire of the brethren at Rome, wrote a short Gospel, according to what he had heard related by Peter."³

From these testimonies it must be admitted that the preaching of Peter had some influence in the formation of the Gospel of Mark. It has been affirmed that traces of this influence and of this connection between Mark and Peter are to be discerned in the Gospel itself.⁴ There is frequent mention of Peter in places where he is not alluded to in the other Gospels, as if it were the writer's desire to record facts concerning him of which he had been personally informed. Thus we are told that Simon and those that were with him followed Jesus after the miracles at Capernaum (i. 16); that it was Peter who drew the attention of our Lord to the withering of the fig tree (xi. 13); that Peter, along with John, James, and Andrew, asked our Lord concerning the sign that should precede the destruction of Jerusalem (xiii. 3); and that the angel who announced the resurrection of Christ to the women, specified Peter as the person to whom the announcement should be made: "Tell His disciples and Peter" (xvi. 7). But, on the other hand, there are also numerous instances where Peter is omitted in the Gospel of Mark, while men-

¹ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 25.

² *Ibid.* ii. 15.

³ Jerome, *De vir. illustr.* ch. viii.

⁴ See Dods' *Introduction to the N.T.* pp. 26-28; Klostermann's *Marcus-evangelium*; Guericke, *Isagogik*, p. 161; Maclear's *St. Mark*, p. 14 ff.; Davidson's *Introduction to the N.T.* vol. i. pp. 145-147.

tioned in the other Gospels. Thus in Matt. xv. 15, Peter is represented as asking the explanation of a certain parable, whereas Mark has simply "the disciples." The blessing pronounced on Peter (Matt. xvi. 16–18), Peter walking on the sea (Matt. xiv. 28, 29), and his capture of the fish in which was found the Roman coin (Matt. xvii. 24–27), are omitted by Mark. His mission along with John (Luke xxii. 8) to prepare the Passover, and the fact that he accompanied John to the sepulchre (John xx. 2), are not mentioned. It has indeed been suggested that these omissions may be accounted for by the humility of Peter, and from his reluctance to allude to anything that might redound to his praise; but, not to mention that it is difficult to see how this could affect the narrative of Mark, there are several instances of omission to which this remark cannot apply. Upon the whole, we do not think that the connection between Mark and Peter can be discovered by any traces in the Gospel itself.

Different meanings have been attached to the expression "interpreter of Peter" (ἐρμηνευτῆς Πέτρου; Latin, *interpretes*) given by Papias and Irenæus to Mark. Some think that the word is to be taken in the sense of *translator*; that Mark translated into Greek (Eichhorn, Kuinoel, Schleiermacher) or into Latin (Bleek) what Peter preached in Aramaic; or that Mark translated into Greek Peter's Aramaic Gospel (Smith of Jordanhill). But there is no reason to suppose that Peter was ignorant of Greek, as it was one of the languages of Galilee, and his Epistles prove his acquaintance with it; and Latin was not required even in Rome, as Greek was the usual language of the Roman converts; nor is there the slightest trace of an Aramaic original of Peter's Gospel. Others—Meyer, Tholuck, Klostermann after Jerome—take the word in the sense of *amanuensis* or secretary, and suppose that Mark wrote down the oral teaching of Peter. Thus Jerome observes that as Paul employed Titus for his interpreter, so Peter employed Mark, whose Gospel was composed by the apostle dictating and the evangelist writing.¹ But the probability is that Mark is called "the

¹ *Epist. ad Hedibeam*, ii.

interpreter of Peter," because his Gospel contains the substance of Peter's preaching, and thus interpreted that preaching to the Church. The tradition is so early and universal, that we must allow some connection between the Gospel of Mark and the preaching of Peter, yet not to the extent of supposing either that Mark wrote his Gospel to the dictation of Peter (Origen, Jerome), or that it contains a mere literal repetition of Peter's preaching.

In accordance with these testimonies of the Fathers, we infer that one of the sources of Mark's Gospel was the preaching of Peter, though how far the Petrine element entered into it we cannot determine. Mark, as the companion and interpreter of that apostle, collected notes of his preaching, and by their aid constructed his Gospel. Two of the Fathers of the early Church, Justin and Tertullian, appear actually to have regarded it as the Gospel of Peter. Justin Martyr, in a passage already quoted, says that Christ changed the name of one of His apostles to Peter; and it is written in his Memoirs (*ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν αὐτοῦ*) that He changed the names of other two apostles to Boanerges.¹ The question is, What are the Memoirs to which Justin alludes? It has been affirmed that the most natural interpretation is to refer the pronoun (*αὐτοῦ*) to Peter, the immediate antecedent. Lardner and De Wette refer it to Christ; His Memoirs, that is, the Memoirs concerning Christ. But to this it is answered that Justin always uses the genitive of authorship—the Memoirs of the apostles, so that the phrase would denote Peter's Memoirs. But although the meaning of these words may be doubtful, yet Tertullian expressly calls Mark's Gospel the Gospel of Peter: "The Gospel which Mark published may be affirmed to be Peter's, whose interpreter Mark was."²

But besides the oral teaching of Peter, the general oral tradition of the Church formed another source of the Gospel of Mark. An oral Gospel for the instruction of catechumens would be formed at an early period, and, as we have had already occasion to observe, would enter largely into the

¹ Justin Martyr, *Dial. c. Tryph.* ch. cvi. Otto, an editor of Justin, thinks that for *αὐτοῦ* we ought to read *αὐτῶν*.

² *Adv. Marcion.* iv. 5.

formation of the Synoptic Gospels. Besides, we must also remember that Mark was a native of Jerusalem and an early convert to Christianity; and, consequently, would have ample opportunities for collecting particulars concerning the life of Christ by his intercourse with those who were the personal followers of Christ and the hearers of His discourses.

IV. THE DESIGN OF THE GOSPEL.

Clemens Alexandrinus gives an account of the occasion on which Mark's Gospel was composed. He tells us that the disciples requested Mark to write down the sayings of Peter, and not to leave them to the uncertainty of tradition; and that this was done with Peter's knowledge and concurrence.¹ We cannot tell what truth there is in this statement: in all probability there is much that is legendary about it, and it contradicts other statements of the Fathers. This Gospel was doubtless written for the purpose of giving a connected view of the life of Christ and of gathering together those evangelical fragments, whether oral or written, which were dispersed throughout the churches. Christ is represented in this Gospel as the active agent, the worker of miracles: as at once the Son of God and the Son of Man; revealing Himself as God by His mighty words, and as Man by His human personality and human feelings: it is "The Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God" (Mark i. 1). Peter's statement of the testimony of the apostles: how "God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power; who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil: for God was with Him" (Acts x. 38), has well been described as the programme of this Gospel. Whilst Matthew records the discourses of Jesus, Mark dwells chiefly on His actions.

It is probable, from various indications, that this Gospel was written, not like that of Matthew, for Jewish, but, like that of Luke, for Gentile Christians. There are in it several Latin words and expressions. Of these Credner specifies *δηνάριον*, denarius, vi. 37, xiv. 5; *κεντυρίων*, centurio, xv. 39,

¹ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 14. A similar statement is made by Eusebius himself, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 15.

44, 45; *κῆνσος*, census, xii. 14; *κοδράντης*, quadrans, xii. 42; *κράββατος*, grabatus, ii. 4, 9, 11, 12, vi. 55; *λεγιών*, legio, v. 9, 15; *ξέστης*, sextarius, vii. 4, 8; *πραιτώριον*, prætorium, xv. 16; *σπεκουλάτωρ*, speculator, vi. 27; *φραγελλώω*, flagello, xv. 15; *τῷ ὄχλῳ τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιῆσαι*, populo satisfacere, xv. 15; *ἐσχάτως ἔχειν*, in extremis esse, v. 23.¹ The use of these Latin words and phrases will be best accounted for, if the ordinary supposition is correct, that Mark wrote chiefly for the Romans.

So also translations are attached to Aramaic words and expressions for the information of Gentile readers who were ignorant of that language. Thus our Lord called James and John, "Boanerges, that is, the sons of thunder" (iii. 17). In raising the daughter of Jairus, our Lord said to her, "Talitha cumi; which is, being interpreted, Damsel, I say unto thee, Arise" (v. 41). The pharisaical Jews excused their want of filial affection by offering gifts to God, saying, "It is Corban, that is, given to God" (vii. 11). When Jesus took the blind man aside privately, "He said unto him, Ephphatha, that is, Be opened" (vii. 34). The name of the blind man who was cured at Jericho was Bartimæus, the son of Timæus (x. 46). In Gethsemane our Lord used the word Abba, that is, Father (xiv. 36). The place where He was crucified was called "Golgotha, which is, being interpreted, the place of a skull" (xv. 22). And on the cross our Lord exclaimed, "Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani? which, being interpreted, is, My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?" (xv. 34).

Jewish customs and usages are often explained, as if for the information of Gentile readers. Thus we are informed that the Pharisees and all the Jews, except they wash their hands, eat not, holding the tradition of the elders (vii. 3); that the disciples of John and of the Pharisees used to fast (ii. 18); that the Sadducees say, there is no resurrection (xii. 18); that on the first day of unleavened bread, the Passover was killed (xiv. 12); that at the Passover the Romans were accustomed to release to the Jews a prisoner, whomsoever they desired (xv. 6); that the preparation was the day before the Sabbath (xv. 42). So also localities which would be well known to

¹ Credner's *Einführung*, p. 104.

Jewish, but not to Gentile readers, are explained. The Jordan is called the river of Jordan (i. 5); the Mount of Olives is over against the temple (xiii. 3). The Jewish law is nowhere alluded to; indeed the word *νόμος*, of such frequent occurrence in the New Testament, does not occur.

V. LANGUAGE OF THE GOSPEL.

Baronius, Bellarmine, and other Catholic writers suppose that the Gospel of Mark was written in Latin. The reason assigned for this opinion is that the readers of this Gospel were Romans or Latin Christians. It is also supported by the two Syriac versions, the Peshito and the Philoxenian. Thus a note appended to the Peshito says: "This is the end of the holy Gospel preached by Mark, who preached in Roman at Rome." And Seholtz mentions four Greek manuscripts in which it is asserted that the Gospel was written in Latin.¹ But such an opinion is undoubtedly incorrect; the Greek and Latin Fathers unanimously testify that the Gospel was originally written in Greek.

The style and diction of Mark is graphic and vivid. There is a preference for the present to the historical tense; events are represented as happening before our eyes, imparting a vividness to the description. Thus: "There comes to Him a leper, beseeching Him" (i. 40). "They come to Him, bringing one sick of the palsy, borne of four" (ii. 3). "And straightway, while he was yet speaking, comes Judas, one of the Twelve" (xiv. 43). In the narrative *εὐθέως* or *εὐθύς* frequently occurs as the particle of transition, imparting a lively character to the narrative; it occurs thirty-nine times, and is in the Authorised Version variously translated by the words straightway, immediately, forthwith. There are numerous references to persons, which impart a graphic character to the narrative; thus: "The Pharisees took counsel with the Herodians" (iii. 6); "Judas, which betrayed him" (iv. 11); Simon, "the father of Alexander and Rufus" (xv. 21). There are minute descriptions of localities: "He began to teach by the seaside" (iv. 1); "He was in the stern asleep on the

¹ ἐγγράφη Ῥωμαῖσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ.

cushion" (iv. 38): "they find a colt tied at the door without, in the open street" (xi. 4); "He commanded them to sit down by companies upon the green grass" (vi. 39). There are precise statements of periods of time: "at even, when the sun did set" (i. 32); "in the morning, a great while before day" (i. 35); "on that day, when even was come, He said unto them, Let us go over to the other side" (iv. 35). There is a large use of diminutives, as *παῖδιον*, *θυγάτριον*, *κοράσιον*, *κυνάρια*, *ὠτάριον*. Numerous repetitions are made to add force to the narrative; as the accumulation of negatives, *μηδενὶ μηδὲν* (i. 44), *οὐκέτι οὐδεὶς* (vii. 12); the addition of similar expressions, as when it is said: "And with many parables spake He unto them: and without a parable spake He not unto them" (iv. 33, 34). There is also a large number of words which are peculiar to this Gospel.¹

There are nineteen quotations from the Old Testament in Mark's Gospel, but these are all common to Matthew and Luke, often agreeing verbally. All these quotations are given in reporting our Lord's discourses; there is only one (i. 2, 3) which Mark gives as from himself.

The following is the list of them:—

N.T.	O.T.
Mark i. 2	Mal. iii. 1.
„ i. 3	Isa. xl. 3.
„ iv. 12	Isa. vi. 9.
„ vii. 6, 7	Isa. xxix. 13.
„ vii. 10	Ex. xx. 12, xxi. 17.
„ x. 6	Gen. i. 27.
„ x. 7, 8	Gen. ii. 24.
„ x. 19	Ex. xx. 12-15.
„ xi. 9	Ps. cxviii. 25, 21.
„ xi. 17	Isa. lvi. 7; Jer. vii. 11.
„ xii. 10, 11	Ps. cxviii. 22, 23.
„ xii. 19	Deut. xxv. 5.
„ xii. 26	Ex. iii. 6.

¹ See Credner's *Einführung in das N.T.* 102-105; Davidson's *Introduction to the N.T.* vol. i. pp. 150-152; and his *Introduction to the Study of the N.T.* vol. ii. 3rd ed. pp. 521-523; Gnericke's *N.T. Isagogik*, pp. 162, 163; and Schaff's *History of the Church*, vol. ii. pp. 637-639.

N.T.	O.T.
Mark xii. 29, 30 . . .	Deut. vi. 4.
„ xii. 31 . . .	Lev. xix. 18.
„ xii. 36 . . .	Ps. cx. 1.
„ xiii. 14 . . .	Dan. ix. 27.
„ xiv. 27 . . .	Zech. xiii. 7.
„ xv. 34 . . .	Ps. xxii. 1.

One peculiar feature of the Gospel of Mark is its brevity. It is of much smaller compass than the other Gospels; there is little that is peculiar to it—only one parable and two miracles. Most of the discourses which are in the other Gospels are omitted. And yet this brevity consists rather in the omission of particulars than in condensation. What is common to the other two is often expanded by Mark by the addition of minute particulars.

The chief characteristic of this Gospel is its vividness. The narrative is picturesque, so as to secure for the evangelist the name of a “word-painter.” The transactions are described as if we saw them with our own eyes; minute touches lighten up the whole subject. One scene may be selected for illustration. If we compare the account of the cure of the demoniac lad, when our Lord descended from the mount of transfiguration (ix. 14–29), with the narratives in the other two Gospels (Matt. xvii. 14–21; Luke ix. 37–48), the graphic nature of Mark’s description will at once be seen.¹ Mark alone tells us that when our Lord came down from the mount, He saw a great crowd about the disciples, and the scribes disputing with them. And when all the people beheld Him they were greatly amazed, probably because some vestiges of His glory were still seen on His countenance, and running to Him they saluted Him. Mark alone tells us that when they brought the lad to Jesus the spirit tare him grievously, and he fell to the ground, and wallowed, foaming. He alone gives us, in a most graphic manner, the conversation between the father of the lad and our Lord. “And He asked his father, How long time is it since this hath come unto him? And he said, From a child. And oft-times it hath cast him both into the fire

¹ This is well exhibited in Rushbrooke’s *Synopticon*, p. 60; also Abbott and Rushbrooke’s *Common Tradition of the Gospels*, pp. 70–72.

and into the waters to destroy him; but if Thou canst do anything, have compassion on us, and help us. And Jesus said unto him, If thou canst, all things are possible to him that believeth. Straightway the father of the child cried out, and said, I believe; help Thou mine unbelief." Then we are told the crowd came rushing together; and when Jesus commanded the unclean spirit to come out of the lad, the spirit cried and rent him sore, and the lad fell into such a death-like faint that the greater part of the crowd said he was dead. But Jesus came and took him by the hand and raised him up. The whole scene is graphically described, as by the hand of a painter¹—the epileptic fit that seized the boy, the crowd rushing together, the agony and earnestness of the father, and the dignity and majesty of Christ, are all vividly portrayed before us.

Mark, more than the other evangelists, represents Jesus as He actually lived and walked on this earth. There is a peculiarly realistic character about this Gospel; Jesus Christ, the Son of Man and the Son of God, is evidently set forth before us. His feelings are disclosed: how He grieved for the hardness of men's hearts (iii. 5); how, looking up to heaven, He sighed (vii. 34); how He loved the rich young man who came asking what he should do to inherit eternal life (x. 21); how He was moved with indignation with His disciples when they sought to prohibit little children to be brought to Him (x. 14); how He was moved with compassion for the people who followed Him (vi. 34); and how He marvelled at the unbelief of His hearers (vi. 6). So also His actions and gestures are described: He turned about and looked on His disciples when He administered the severe rebuke to Peter (viii. 33); He took up the little child in His arms (ix. 36); He put His fingers into the ears of the deaf-mute, and did spit and touched his tongue (vii. 33); when the woman with the issue of blood touched His garment, He looked round to see who had done it (v. 32); He fell asleep from fatigue in the stern of the boat (iv. 38). The very words which He spoke in Aramaic are given. We almost hear the accents of His

¹ Raphael's great picture of the Transfiguration is chiefly taken from the description in Mark.

voice. All is brought vividly before us; the scenes are photographed, so that we see them. Jesus is followed by the multitudes of Galilee; He can find no place for retirement; there is no room even about the door of the house where He was; the multitude come together, so that they cannot so much as eat bread (iii. 20, 21).¹

The Gospel of Mark is, as we have seen, no abbreviation of Matthew and Luke. In neither of these Gospels is Jesus so vividly displayed before us. He is in this Gospel seen to be in all points tempted like as we are, with the notable exception of being without sin; He is actuated by human feelings; He is subject to human wants; He is a great Personality whom we see and know. "I regard," observes Dean Alford, "the existence of the Gospel of Mark as a gracious and valuable proof of the accommodation by the Divine Spirit of the records of the life of our Lord to the future necessities of the Church. While it contains little matter of fact which is not related in Matthew and Luke, and thus, generally speaking, forms only a confirmation of their more complete histories, it is so far from being a barren duplicate of that part of them which is contained in it, that it comes home to every reader with all the freshness of an individual mind, full of the Holy Ghost, intently fixed on the great object of the Christian's love and worship, reverently and affectionately following and recording His positions, and looks, and gestures, and giving us the very echo of the tones with which He spoke."²

VI. INTEGRITY OF THE GOSPEL.

In considering the integrity of Mark's Gospel, we come to the important discussion on the genuineness of its last twelve verses.³ Some of the most distinguished critics suppose that Mark ended his Gospel at the close of the eighth verse of the

¹ See Maclear on the *Gospel of Mark*, pp. 16-20: *Cambridge Bible for Schools*.

² Alford's *Greek Testament*, vol. i. p. 39, Prolegomena, last ed.

³ This subject is discussed at considerable length by Dean Burgon in his able monograph, *The last twelve verses of St. Mark*; by Dr. Hort in *The New Testament in the Original Greek* by Westcott and Hort, Notes on Select Readings, vol. ii. pp. 28-51; by Scrivener in his *Introduction to the*

sixteenth chapter with the words, *ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ*, "for they were afraid," and that what follows (Mark xvi. 9–20) was an addition by some other writer. This is the view taken in the Revised Version: a space is put between the eighth verse and the rest of the chapter, along with the footnote: "The two oldest Greek manuscripts and some other authorities omit from ver. 9 to the end. Some other authorities have a different ending to the Gospel." The first critic who called in question the genuineness of these verses was Griesbach, and he has been followed in recent times by several distinguished critics. Tischendorf, who has been justly called "the first biblical critic in Europe," says "that these verses were not written by Mark is proved by sufficient argument."¹ Dr. Tregelles says: "The Book of Mark himself extends no farther than *ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ*, xvi. 8." "I look on this section (xvi. 9–20) as an authentic anonymous addition to what Mark himself wrote down from the narrative of St. Peter, and that it ought as much to be received as part of our second Gospel as the last chapter of Deuteronomy, unknown as the writer is, is received as the right and proper conclusion of the books of Moses."² Dean Alford gives the following as the result of his examination of the passage: "The inference seems to me to be that it (Mark xvi. 9–20) is an authentic fragment, placed as a completion of the Gospel in very early times, by whom written must, of course, remain wholly uncertain; but coming to us with very weighty sanction, and having strong claims on our reception and reverence."³ Meyer expresses his view of the subject in the following terms: "The entire section, from vers. 9–20, is a non-genuine conclusion of the Gospel, not composed by Mark."⁴ Its genuineness is also denied by Bishop Westcott: "The original text, from whatever cause it may have happened, terminated abruptly after the account of the angelic vision. The history of the revelations of the *Criticism of the New Testament*, pp. 429–432, 1st ed.; vol. ii. pp. 337–444, 4th ed.; and by Tregelles on the *Printed Text of the New Testament*, pp. 246–261.

¹ *Hæc non a Marco scripta esse argumentis probatur idoneis, in loco.*

² Tregelles, *Printed Text of the Greek Testament*, pp. 258, 259.

³ Alford's *Greek Testament* on Mark xvi. 9–20, last ed. vol. i. p. 438.

⁴ Meyer's *Commentary on Mark*, critical notes on vv. 9–20.

Lord Himself was added at another time, and probably by another hand.”¹

Opposed to the views of these distinguished critics are the opinions of other critics of great eminence. Lachmann inserts the passage in his critical *New Testament*, with the remark that from ἀναστὰς to the end is found in A, C, D, Irenæus, but omitted in B, Eusebius.² Scrivener, perhaps our greatest biblical critic in recent times, with the possible exceptions of Bishop Lightfoot and Dr. Hort, says: “We engage to defend the authenticity of this long and important paragraph without the slightest misgiving.”³ And Dean Burgon has written an elaborate work in defence of the passage, in which he gives at great length the external and internal evidences for and against these verses, and claims to have demonstrated their genuineness: “It shall be my endeavour to show, not only that there really is no reason whatever for calling in question the genuineness of this portion of Holy Writ, but also that there exist sufficient reasons for feeling confident that it must be genuine.”⁴

1. The *external evidence* against and for the genuineness of Mark xvi. 9–20.

(1) *External evidence against its genuineness.* The paragraph is omitted in the two oldest manuscripts, the Vatican (B) and the Sinaitic (Σ). In both, after the words ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ, comes

¹ Westcott, *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, p. 309, 1st ed. The passage is also rejected by Westcott and Hort in their critical edition of the *Greek New Testament*. “Its authorship and its precise date must remain unknown,” vol. ii. *Notes on Select Readings*, p. 81. The passage is also rejected by Archbishop Thomson, *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. ii. p. 239, and by Bishop Lightfoot.

² Lachmann's *Novum Testamentum*, vol. i. p. 314.

³ Scrivener's *Introduction to the Study of the N.T.* p. 429, 1st ed. The same remark is repeated in his 3rd edition, p. 583; and in the 4th edition, published after his decease (1894), vol. i. p. 337.

⁴ Burgon, *The last verses of the Gospel according to St. Mark*, p. 1. This is an admirably reasoned work, a masterpiece in biblical criticism. Dr. Scrivener remarks: “Dr. Burgon's brilliant monograph has thrown a stream of light upon the controversy, nor does the joyous tone of his book misbecome one who is conscious of having triumphantly maintained a cause which is very precious to him.” *Introduction to Biblical Criticism of the N.T.* vol. ii. p. 337, 4th edition.

the subscription. There is, however, some reason to doubt whether these manuscripts should be considered as independent testimonies, or whether they should not rather be regarded as one witness, being, not indeed copies of the same manuscript, but of two manuscripts closely related to each other, as there is a general agreement in their readings. This is especially the case if there is any truth in the statement of Tischendorf, that the same scribe who wrote the Codex Vaticanus also transcribed certain pages of the Codex Sinaiticus. The six pages of Codex \mathfrak{s} , which Tischendorf selects as proofs of this statement, are from Mark xvi. 2 to Luke i. 56, and consequently contain the very portion of Mark's Gospel which includes these verses. So that, if this statement is correct, it follows that in these pages at least we have the testimony only of one witness, namely, the Vatican manuscript.¹ This is certainly a witness of great importance, being the oldest extant Greek manuscript of the New Testament. But even this testimony of B is somewhat weakened by the fact that not only is the remainder of the column, where the words $\epsilon\phi\omicron\beta\omicron\upsilon\nu\tau\omicron\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ occur, left blank, but the next column is also vacant, and as has been remarked, "it is the only vacant column in the whole manuscript; a blank space abundantly sufficient to contain the twelve verses" which are omitted.² The only reason that can be assigned for this vacancy is that the scribe of the Vatican had before him a manuscript which contained the verses in dispute, but which he, for some reason, left out.

The uncial manuscript L, or Codex Regius Parisiensis No. 62, belonging, according to Tischendorf, to the eighth century, has the following conclusion after the words $\epsilon\phi\omicron\beta\omicron\upsilon\nu\tau\omicron\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$: "Something to this effect is met with: All that was commanded them they immediately rehearsed to Peter and the rest. And after these things from the East even to the West did Jesus Himself send forth by their means the holy and incorruptible message of eternal salvation. But this also

¹ Scrivener's *Introduction*, 4th ed. vol. ii. p. 337, note. "At least," he observes, "in these leaves, Cod. \mathfrak{s} , B make but one witness, not two." See also *Speaker's Commentary, New Testament*, vol. i. p. 391.

² Burgon's *Last twelve verses of St. Mark*, p. 87.

is met with after the words, 'For they were afraid,' Now when he was risen early,' etc.; then follow the words, vv. 9-20 as found in the *textus receptus*.¹ Thus there are attached to this manuscript two conclusions, one undoubtedly spurious, the other that which is usually attached to the Greek text.²

Among the cursive manuscripts, Codex 22 concludes with the words *ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ*, and then adds in red ink: "In some copies the Gospel is completed at this part, but in many these are also current"; then follow vv. 9-20.³ In Codices 20 and 300 we read after *ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ*: "From here to the end forms no part of the text in some copies. But in the ancient copies it all forms part of the text."⁴ It has been affirmed by Birch that two cursive manuscripts, 137 and 138, have the passage marked by an asterisk, as denoting a suspicion of its genuineness; but this point has been carefully examined by Dean Burgon, and the result of his examination is that Codex 137 has a simple cross referring to an annotation, and that Codex 138 has neither cross nor asterisk.⁵

There is hardly any evidence from the versions against the genuineness of this passage. The Codex k, or Codex Bobbiensis of the Old Latin version, now in the National Library of Turin, wants the usual conclusion of Mark's Gospel, and in its place inserts a Latin translation of the spurious ending found in Codex L already given. The verses are omitted in some Old Armenian codices, and one of them in a space between vv. 8 and 9 has the remarkable reading, "Of Ariston, presbyter," as if Ariston were the writer of the verses which follow. To this remarkable reading we shall afterwards advert. The verses are also omitted in the Sinaitic

¹ Burgon, pp. 123, 124; Tregelles, *Printed Text of the Greek Text*, p. 254.

² This manuscript is supposed to have been one of those used by Stephens (η) in the formation of his *Greek Testament*. It bears a close resemblance to the Vatican and to the citations of Origen. Scrivener observes: "It is but carelessly written, and abounds with errors of the ignorant scribe, who was more probably an Egyptian than a native Greek." Vol. i. p. 138.

³ Alford's *Greek Testament* on Mark xvi. 9.

⁴ Burgon, p. 118.

⁵ Burgon, pp. 116, 117.

palimpsest of the Syrian version of the Gospels recently discovered (1892, 1893) by Mrs. Lewis.

Eusebius, in the fourth century, on whose words great stress has been put by those opposed to the insertion of this passage, was the first to cast doubts on its genuineness. His words are contained in the fragment of a lost work found in the Vatican Library, and published by Cardinal Mai in 1825.¹ They are a reply to a certain Marinus who asked how the statement contained in Mark xvi. 9, that Jesus rose early the first day of the week, could be reconciled with the statement in Matthew's Gospel, that He rose on the end of the Sabbath, as it began to dawn toward the first day of the week.² To this question Eusebius replies: "Two answers might be given. He who denied the whole passage might say that it is not found in all the copies (εἴποι ἂν μὴ ἐν ᾧπασιν αὐτὴν φέρεσθαι τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις) of Mark's Gospel, the accurate copies ending with the words of the young man who appeared to the women, 'Fear not ye! Ye seek Jesus of Nazareth' . . . to which the evangelist adds: 'And when they heard it they fled, and said nothing to any man; for they were afraid.' These words in almost all the copies of Mark's Gospel form the end. What follows which is met with in some but not in all the copies may be regarded as superfluous; especially if they should prove to contradict the statements of the other evangelists. This one might say for evading and getting rid of a superfluous discussion. But another, not daring to reject anything which is met with in the text of the Gospels, might say, Here are two readings, and both are to be received; inasmuch as by the faithful *this* reading is not held to be genuine rather than *that*." Although the language is somewhat ambiguous, yet it may be admitted that Eusebius here asserts that these concluding verses were omitted in almost all the copies of Mark's Gospel with which he was conversant. This, however, must be regarded as a rhetorical

¹ *Questiones ad Marinum*, published in Cardinal Mai's *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, vol. iv. pp. 255-257.

² The whole passage is given in Burgon's *Last twelve verses of St. Mark*, pp. 265, 266, App. B.

exaggeration, for only a very few manuscripts have come down to us which want these words. Eusebius then here either uses rhetorical language, or perhaps does not express his own opinion, but puts the words into the mouth of the person who answers the question: "One may say" (*ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἴποι*): "This is what a person may say for getting rid of the whole question." The testimony of Jerome is given in his *Epistle to Hedibia*,¹ but it is only a repetition of the statement of Eusebius; the same difficulty is proposed, and the same solution is given. Similarly Hesychius, bishop of Jerusalem (A.D. 400), refers to the same difficulty, and gives the same answer: he says: "The more accurate copies of Mark's Gospel end with 'For they were afraid'; but in some it is added, 'But when He was risen again,' etc. But this appears to contradict what has been before asserted in Matthew."² It is also maintained that there is no reference to this passage in the writings of the early Fathers, whether Latin, as Tertullian and Cyprian, or Greek, as Clemens Alexandrinus and Origen, in their discussion on subjects where they would naturally refer to it. But this *argumentum e silentio* is very precarious.

{ || *External evidence in favour of its genuineness.* With the exception of *κ* and B, the words are contained in all the other uncial manuscripts of this Gospel.³ They are found in the Alexandrian manuscript (A), in the Codex Ephræm (C), in the Codex Bezae (D), and in the other thirteen uncial manuscripts.⁴ Almost all the cursive manuscripts of this Gospel, of which there are six hundred, contain the words in question, except, of course, those which are defective.

The versions are virtually unanimous in their testimony in favour of the retention of the passage. It is found in all the manuscripts of the Old Latin with the exception of the

¹ *Ep. 120 ad Hedibiam.*

² See Burgon, pp. 57-59; M'Clellan's *New Testament*, vol. i. p. 682.

³ "With the exception of the two uncial manuscripts which have just been named," says Dean Burgon, "there is *not one* codex in existence, uncial or cursive, (and we are acquainted with at least eighteen other uncial and about six hundred cursive copies of this Gospel,) which leaves out the last twelve verses of St. Mark," p. 71.

⁴ Namely, E F^w G H K M S U V X Γ Δ Π.

Codex Bobbiensis (k) already mentioned. It is inserted by Jerome in the Vulgate, thus proving that that Father did not, as some suppose, seriously call in question its genuineness. It is contained in all the Syriac versions—the Peshito, the Philoxenian Syriac, and the Cureton Syriac, one of the fragments of which contains the last four verses, with the exception of the Syriac manuscript of the Gospels recently found at Mount Sinai. It is contained in the Armenian version, except in some codices, and in the two Egyptian versions. In short, it is not affirming too much to say that the evidence of the versions is practically unanimous in favour of this section of the Gospel of Mark.

The positive testimonies of the Fathers until Eusebius are all in favour of the genuineness of the section. It is a short passage, and consequently is not often referred to. Justin Martyr (A.D. 150) in his first *Apology* apparently cites Mark xvi. 20: "That which he (David) says, 'He shall send to thee the rod of power out of Jerusalem,' is predictive of the mighty Word which His apostles, going forth from Jerusalem, preached everywhere."¹ On this, however, we do not lay much stress; for although there is a striking resemblance between these words and the conclusion of Mark's Gospel, there may be some doubt whether Justin actually quotes from it. Much more important is the testimony of Tatian (A.D. 160). The passage is undoubtedly contained in the Diatessaron, as is proved from the Arabic manuscript from Egypt recently brought to light and now translated.² This demonstrates that the words formed part of Mark's Gospel toward the middle of the second century. So far as we can ascertain, this important testimony of Tatian was unknown to Griesbach, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Alford, Meyer, and Westcott and Hort, when they arrived at their opinion unfavourable to the genuineness of this passage; and if so, this fact must to some extent invalidate their conclusion.³ Irenæus (A.D. 180)

¹ *Apol.* i. c. 45: ἐξελθόντες πανταχοῦ ἐκήρυξαν; compare with this the concluding words of Mark's Gospel: ἐκείνοι δὲ ἐξελθόντες ἐκήρυξαν πανταχοῦ.

² Tatian's Diatessaron, translated from the Arabic version by the Rev. J. Hamlyn Hill. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1894.

³ Tatian's Diatessaron is not referred to by these distinguished biblical critics.

has a distinct quotation from Mark xvi. 19: "Toward the conclusion of his Gospel, Mark says: So then, after the Lord Jesus had spoken to them, He was received up into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God."¹ So also Hippolytus, a contemporary of Irenæus (A.D. 200), quotes vv. 17 and 18 in a fragment of a work concerning spiritual gifts: "Jesus said to them all collectively concerning the gifts given from Him by the Spirit: These signs shall follow them that believe: In My name shall they cast out demons; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall in nowise hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover."² And in his treatise against Noetus there is also an apparent reference to this section in Mark's Gospel. "Christ is taken up to heaven, and is set down at the right hand of the Father" (Mark xvi. 19).³ The passage is also twice cited in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, written in the fourth century: "For the Lord says, He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned" (Mark xvi. 16).⁴ "With good reason did He say to all of us together, when we were perfected concerning those gifts which were given from Him by the Spirit: Now these signs shall follow them that have believed in My name; they shall cast out devils, they shall speak with *new* tongues," etc. (Mark xvi. 17).⁵ The passage is quoted or referred to by Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, Jerome, Augustine, Chrysostom, and subsequent Fathers.

¶ 2. The *internal evidence* against and for the genuineness of Mark xvi. 9–20.

The objectors to the genuineness of this passage generally place the great force of their argument on the internal evidence. Many of them admit that the external evidence is rather favourable than otherwise, but assert that the internal

¹ Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* iii. 10. 6: In fine autem Evangelii ait Marcus: Et quidem Dominus Jesus, postquam locutus est eis, receptus est in cœlos, et sedet ad dexteram Dei. Mark xvi. 19.

² Hippolytus (περὶ λειτουργίας), *Opp.* 545.

³ *Contra Hær. Noeti*, c. 18.

⁴ *Apost. Const.* vi. 15.

⁵ *Ibid.* viii. 1.

evidence is preponderantly unfavourable. "The internal evidence," observes Dean Alford," is, I think, very weighty against Mark's being the author. No less than twenty-one words and expressions occur in it, and some of them several times, which are never used elsewhere by Mark, whose adherence to his own peculiar phrases is remarkable."¹ The style, it is affirmed, is very different from that of Mark. Instead of those graphic touches which impart a vividness to Mark's narrative, and represent the scenes described before the mind's eye, we have a dry summary of events. The particle of transition, *εὐθέως*, *forthwith*, so constantly used by Mark, and which imparts life to the narrative, is wanting. The phraseology also is not that of Mark. Thus, for example, the first day of the week is called *πρώτη σαββάτου* instead of *μία τῶν σαββάτων* (Mark xvi. 2). Mary Magdalene is introduced as "she out of whom He had cast seven devils," although mentioned a few verses before (ver. 1). Jesus is twice called *ὁ κύριος* (vv. 19, 20), a title which is not elsewhere found in Mark's Gospel. And the following words and phrases, given by Tregelles, are not found elsewhere in this Gospel: *πορεύομαι* (thrice), *θεάομαι* (twice), *ἀπίστω* (twice), *ἕτερος*, *παρακολουθέω*, *βλάπτω*, *ἐπακολουθέω*, *συνεργέω*, *βεβαιόω*, *πανταχοῦ*, *μετὰ ταῦτα*, *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι*.²

These points are apparently unfavourable; but when closely examined they are not so adverse as they at first appear. The style is not wholly different from that of Mark. The passage is certainly a category of particulars, but still it is not wanting in traces of Mark's graphic style. For example, when Mary came to the apostles to announce the appearance of the Lord to her, there is the graphic touch that she found them utterly cast down: "She went and told them that had been with Him, as they mourned and wept" (xvi. 10). So also the unbelief of the disciples at the repeated news of the resurrection of their Lord is recorded only here (xvi. 13). It is true that the favourite transitional particle *εὐθέως*

¹ Alford's *Greek Testament*, *in loco*.

² Tregelles, *Printed Text of the Greek Testament*, 257. See also Farrar's *Messages of the Books*, p. 67 ff.; Norton, *Genuineness of the Gospels*, vol. i. p. 219.

does not occur, but it is also wanting in the twelfth and thirteenth chapters. The expression *πρώτη σαββάτου* instead of *μία τῶν σαββατῶν* is only another expression used by the author for the sake of variety. The mention of Mary Magdalene as she out of whom Jesus had cast seven devils, is designed to show the wonderful love and condescension of Christ in appearing first to her. The objection that the title *ὁ κύριος* is foreign to the diction of Mark,¹ is of no force; as in like manner *Ἰησοῦς Χριστός* only appears once in his Gospel (Mark i. 1). And although it is true that the phraseology of the section is somewhat different from that of Mark, yet there occur in it expressions which are often found in his Gospel, but rarely in the other Gospels, and which may be considered as words and phrases peculiar to Mark, as *κτίσις*, *πρωῖ*, *κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*, etc. The rare word *σκληροκαρδία* (ver. 14) occurs again in Mark's Gospel (x. 5), but is only found once again in the New Testament (Matt. xix. 8).

The extreme improbability of the Gospel having such an abrupt conclusion, if the closing words are omitted, is a strong internal evidence in favour of the genuineness of the section. If the passage is not genuine, the Gospel terminates at the eighth verse with the words *ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ*. There is no mention of the appearance of Christ to His disciples or to the women, no intimation of the astonishing events which followed, no record of the resurrection. Even those who call in question the genuineness of the passage do not suppose that this was the close of the Gospel, but admit that there must have been a conclusion, either actual, which has been lost, or intended, which Mark was prevented writing. "That Mark," says Griesbach, "should have intentionally ended his Gospel with the words *ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ*, ought to seem incredible to all."² "It would be," says Michaelis, "a wonderful conclusion of a book."³ "Few Greek scholars," observes Dr. Abbott, "will be induced to believe that the author of the Second Gospel deliberately chose to end a book on the good

¹ In ver. 19 the true reading is *ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς*.

² *Com. Crit.* p. 199.

³ Michaelis, *Einleitung*, p. 1060; Marsh's *Michaelis*, vol. iv. p. 210.

news of Christ with the words *ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ*. From a literary point of view the *γάρ*, and from a moral point of view the *ἐφοβοῦντο*, make it almost incredible that these words represent a deliberate termination assigned by an author to a composition of his own."¹ And even Dr. Hort says: "It is incredible that the evangelist deliberately concluded either a paragraph with *ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ*, or the Gospel with a petty detail of a secondary event, leaving his narrative hanging in the air."²

If, then, the Gospel once had a conclusion, actual or intended, we are entitled to ask the objectors to this passage, What has become of it? Two answers have been given to this question. The one, favoured by Norton,³ is that Mark was prevented finishing his Gospel; either because Peter, to whom he was indebted for his information, perished at this time in the persecution by Nero (Michaelis), or because Mark himself died (Davidson). Both of these are merely gratuitous suppositions. Mark was not so entirely dependent on Peter that he could not finish his Gospel without his aid; and it would be most extraordinary that he himself should die at the very time when he was about to finish his Gospel. The other supposition, favoured by Griesbach and adopted by Alford,⁴ is that the last leaf was torn away.⁵ This is certainly a strange hypothesis, the resorting to which can only be accounted for by the impossibility of otherwise explaining the fact of such an abrupt conclusion. The Gospel, when written, would be committed to the custody of some particular Church, and by them it would be most carefully preserved. Surely the supposition is far more reasonable, that the present conclusion of Mark's Gospel is genuine, and was written by the evangelist himself.

¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, article "The Gospels," vol. x. p. 801.

² Westcott and Hort's *Greek Testament*, vol. ii. notes, p. 46.

³ Norton's *Genuineness of the Gospels*, vol. i. p. 221.

⁴ "The most probable supposition is that the last leaf of the original Gospel was torn away."—Alford.

⁵ "Two contingencies," observes Dr. Hort, "have to be taken into account—either the Gospel may never have been finished, or it may have lost its last leaf before it was multiplied by transcription." Westcott and Hort's *N.T. Notes*, p. 47.

This may be the most appropriate place for advertizing to a most ingenious hypothesis recently advanced by Mr. Conybeare in the *The Expositor*, and which has received the support of such distinguished critics as Zahn and Resch.¹ In an Armenian manuscript found in the patriarchal library of Eémiadzin, at the foot of Mount Ararat, written about 986, which Mr. Conybeare collated, he found the Gospel of Mark copied out as far as "For they were afraid" (ver. 8), and between vv. 8 and 9 the words Ariston Eritzon, equivalent to Ἀρίστωνος πρεσβυτέρου. The last twelve verses then follow, written in the same hand. From this he inferred that it is here affirmed that these last verses were written, not by Mark, but by the Presbyter Ariston. Resch and Sanday suppose that by Ariston is here meant Ariston of Pella, otherwise known to us, who lived about A.D. 140–150; but Conybeare and Zahn think that this is too late to permit of the passage being so generally inserted in the manuscripts and quoted by Tatian and Irenæus. Mr. Conybeare therefore supposes that the person meant is Aristion, the name being wrongly spelt, one of the disciples of the Lord, from whom Papias, according to Eusebius,² derived his traditions. According to Conybeare, the same mistake in spelling occurs in the Armenian version of Eusebius, where the name Ariston occurs for Aristion. Hence it has been inferred that the last verses of Mark's Gospel were taken from the lost work of Papias, and ultimately from the oral tradition of Aristion. It has been supposed that some one, wishing to attach a befitting conclusion to the Gospel, incorporated an extract from the work of Papias containing a tradition of the presbyter Aristion. This hypothesis is most ingenious, and fully accounts for all the anomalies of the passage; and is also in accordance with the opinion of those critics who assert that it is some ancient fragment inserted for the completion of the Gospel (Alford, Hort, Tregelles, Bishop Lightfoot, Archbishop Thomson, etc.). It can, however, hardly be adopted. It occurs only in an obscure Armenian

¹ *Expositor* for October 1893, pp. 241–254; and for September 1894, pp. 219–232.

² *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 39.

manuscript of no authority, and is destitute of all other confirmation.

Such, then, is the evidence for and against the genuineness of Mark xvi. 9–20. The external evidence is strongly in its favour. The whole external evidence against the passage amounts to its omission in the Vatican manuscript, to statements annexed to the conclusion of the Gospel in Codex L and in three unimportant cursive MSS., and to an exaggerated assertion of Eusebius, which has been followed by Jerome and Hesychius. The Sinaitic manuscript \aleph is considered as the same testimony as the Vatican: or if this be called in question, then there are only three uncial manuscripts (\aleph B L¹) against the passage. On the other hand, with these exceptions, all the Greek manuscripts, both uncial and cursive, all the Fathers who refer to the passage, and all the versions except the recently discovered Sinaitic Syriac, are in its favour. It may be that the internal evidence is against its retention, though this is a matter of opinion which may be and has been questioned. But in all critical questions, unless there are decided reasons to the contrary, which in this case do not exist, the internal evidence must yield to the external. With regard to the external evidence, we have facts to go upon, whereas the internal evidence is almost purely subjective. As Dr. Hort himself observes in his elaborate examination of this passage: "We do not think it necessary to examine in detail the intrinsic evidence supposed to be furnished by comparison of the vocabulary and style of vv. 9–20 with the unquestioned parts of the Gospel. Much of what has been urged on both sides is, in our judgment, trivial and intangible."² The internal evidence against it is certainly not so strong or so clear as to counterbalance the external evidence for it. We therefore feel constrained to come to the conclusion that Mark xvi. 9–20 is a genuine portion of the Gospel. We are perfectly aware that in arriving at this conclusion we may be accused of undue confidence in opposing the views of critics of such pre-eminence as Tischendorf, Tregelles, and Westcott and Hort, who, in their critical

¹ Even in L the passage is inserted as an alternative reading.

² *The Greek New Testament Notes*, p. 48.

editions of the New Testament, all reject this passage. But they had not the data which we now possess in the important testimony of Tatian, and the authority of these great names does not destroy our private judgment, or cause us to relinquish our convictions; nor are we unsupported in this conclusion by other eminent critics, such as Scrivener¹ and Burgon.

The opinions of biblical critics are much divided, although we at once admit that the preponderance of authority, though not so great as is generally supposed, is unfavourable to the genuineness of this passage. Wetstein, Storr, Mill, Grotius, Bengel, Scholz, Kuinoel,² De Wette, Hug, Bleek,³ Guericke, Schleiermacher, Principal Campbell of Aberdeen,⁴ Ebrard, Hilgenfeld, Keil, Stier, Lange, Scrivener, Burgon, Bishop Wordsworth, Dean Bickersteth, Canon Cook,⁵ McClellan, Edersheim, Salmon,⁶ Morison, Wace, and Bishop Ellicott declare in favour of its genuineness. Whereas Michaelis, Griesbach, Credner, Wieseler, Ewald, Norton,⁷ Tischendorf, Tregelles, Meyer, Alford, Westcott and Hort, Klostermann, Bishop Lightfoot,⁸ Archbishop Thomson,⁹ Davidson, Warfield, Farrar, Abbott, Zahn, Resch, and Holtzmann decide against its genuineness.

¹ Scrivener thus states the result at which he arrives: "All opposition to the authenticity of the paragraph resolves itself into the allegation of Eusebius and the testimony of \aleph B. Let us accord to these the weight which is their due; but against their verdict we can appeal to a vast body of ecclesiastical evidence reaching back to the earlier part of the second century; to nearly all the versions; and to all extant manuscripts excepting two, of which one is doubtful." *Introduction to the Criticism of the N.T.* vol. ii. p. 344, 4th edition.

² Kuinoel, *Novi Testamenti Libri Historici, in loco.*

³ Bleek, *Introduction to N.T.* vol. i. p. 312, Eng. trans.

⁴ Campbell, *On the Gospels*, vol. iii. p. 178.

⁵ Cook's *Revised Version of the first three Gospels*, pp. 120-125.

⁶ Salmon's *Introduction to the N.T.* pp. 190-193, 1st ed. 1885.

⁷ Norton's *Genuineness of the Gospels*, vol. i. pp. 217 ff.

⁸ Lightfoot ascribes it to "that knot of early disciples who gathered about St. John." *Revision of the N.T.* p. 28.

⁹ He says: "It is probable that this section is from a different hand, but was annexed to the Gospels soon after the time of the apostles." *Smith's Bible Dictionary*, vol. ii. p. 239.

VII. TIME AND PLACE OF WRITING.

The date of this Gospel is a point of great dubiety, on which the most contradictory opinions prevail; indeed, it is a point on which we have not data sufficient to warrant any definite or even proximate decision. There are conflicting testimonies with regard to it, and it is interwoven with other questions, as, for example, with the synoptic problem on the sources of the Synoptics. Whilst external evidence is defective, there are in the Gospel itself few indications of time.

The opinions of the Fathers are here not in agreement. Some assert that Mark wrote his Gospel after, and others before, the death of Peter. Irenæus, in a passage already quoted, asserts that it was written after the death of Peter and Paul. "Matthew published his Gospel among the Hebrews in their own language, while Peter and Paul were preaching and laying the foundations of the Church at Rome. After their departure (*μετὰ τὴν τούτων ἔξοδον*) Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, also transmitted to us in writing those things which Peter had preached."¹ Some, as Mill, Kuinoel, and others, suppose that by *ἔξοδον* is meant *departure*, as is the evident meaning of the word in Heb. xi. 22—after the departure of Peter and Paul from Rome; but such a statement would be useless and insignificant. Others, as Hug, Credner, Guericke, and Ebrard, interpret the expression as denoting *death*—after the decease of Peter and Paul, that is, after A.D. 64, the year of the persecution by Nero, when it is supposed that these two apostles were put to death; and this seems to be the usual scriptural meaning of the word,² and is an important statement. Some connect with this statement the words of Peter in his Second Epistle: "I will endeavour that ye may be able after my decease (the same word *ἔξοδον*) to have these things always in remembrance" (2 Pet. i. 15). "Here," observes Professor Warfield, "is a promise by Peter that he will see to it that his readers shall be in a position after his death to have his teaching always in remembrance;

¹ Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* iii. 1. 1; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 8.

² Luke x. 21; 2 Pet. i. 15.

and in this he has special reference to the facts of the life of Christ, witnessed by him, as is proved by the purpose which he expresses for so arranging, namely, that they may know that they have not followed cunningly devised fables, but facts autoptically witnessed. Surely this seems to promise a Gospel.”¹ The truth of this statement of Irenæus is, however, extremely doubtful. It is uncertain that Peter and Paul were together in Rome: they certainly did not lay the foundation of the Church of Rome; that Church was founded years before their arrival, as is evident from the fact that Paul at an earlier period wrote an Epistle to the Romans, and that on his arrival at Rome he found a Christian Church already existing. The implied coincidence of the time of their martyrdom is legendary.

This statement of Irenæus is counterbalanced by that of Clemens Alexandrinus, who informs us that Mark published his Gospel, not after the death of Peter, but in his lifetime, and with his knowledge and approval. Thus in a passage quoted by Eusebius, Clement says: “As Peter had preached the word publicly at Rome, and declared the Gospel by the Spirit, many that were present requested that Mark, who had followed him for a long time and remembered his sayings, should write them out. And having composed the Gospel, he gave it to those who had requested it. When Peter learned this, he neither directly forbade nor encouraged it.”² The same opinion was adopted by Eusebius and Jerome. Jerome speaks as if Peter had actually dictated the Gospel to Mark.

These testimonies contradict each other; Irenæus asserting that Mark wrote his Gospel after the death of Peter, and Clemens Alexandrinus that it was written before that event. All critics, except those belonging to the Tübingen school, agree that this Gospel was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, that is, before A.D. 70. There is no reference in it to that event: on the contrary, there are in the prediction of our Lord indications that it had not yet occurred (Mark xiii. 13, 24, 30, 33). The catastrophe was impending, but had not taken place. There were the symptoms of the coming storm, but it

¹ Quoted in Kerr's *Introduction to N. T. Study*, p. 37.

² Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 14.

had not burst upon the land. So, also, there is an intimation that this Gospel was written after the dispersion of the apostles and after the diffusion of Christianity beyond Jerusalem, that is, after A.D. 44. "And they (the disciples) went forth, and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word by the signs that followed" (xvi. 20). Thus, then, between these two limits, A.D. 44 and A.D. 70, the composition of this Gospel is to be placed.

If Mark's Gospel is the earliest, constituting one of the chief sources of the other two, for which opinion there are plausible reasons, then it must have been written before A.D. 55, the date which we found most probable to ascribe to the Gospel of Matthew. But, if Mark's Gospel is not the earliest, if, as many critics suppose, the Gospel of Matthew preceded it, then a later date must be adopted. Several objections have been made to the earlier date. If, it has been said, the Gospel of Mark was written before Paul's first Roman imprisonment (A.D. 63), Paul in his Epistle to the Colossians, written at that time, would have mentioned Mark by a much higher designation than merely as the cousin of Barnabas (Col. iv. 10); he would have alluded to him as the author of the Gospel. But this is a mere conjectural statement; it proceeds on the doubtful supposition that Mark, the disciple of Peter, the author of the Gospel, was the same as Mark the companion of Paul and the cousin of Barnabas: and, besides, the *argumentum e silentio* is always precarious. It is also affirmed that this early date contradicts the testimonies of Irenæus and Clemens Alexandrinus; but we have seen that their testimonies are conflicting, and cannot be relied upon for fixing a precise date for the writing of Mark.

Accordingly, no arguments can be drawn from the statements of the Fathers with regard to the date of the Gospel of Mark; and the indications of time in the Gospel itself are slight and ambiguous. The opinions of critics are very diverse, varying from A.D. 40 to A.D. 170. The Paschal Chronicle and Hesychius fix on A.D. 40; Eusebius in his *Chronicon* gives the third year of the reign of Claudius, A.D. 43; Birks fixes on A.D. 48; Schenkel, on A.D. 45-58;

Hitzig, on A.D. 55–57; Lardner, on A.D. 64; Guericke, on A.D. 67 or 68; Alford, “after the dispersion or even the death of the apostles, and before the destruction of Jerusalem by the Roman armies under Titus, in the year A.D. 70.” The critics belonging to the Tübingen school generally place the composition of the Gospel after the destruction of Jerusalem; Hilgenfeld, about A.D. 81; Köstlin, about A.D. 110; Keim, about A.D. 115–120; Davidson, in the last edition of his *Introduction*, about A.D. 120; and Baur himself, about A.D. 130–170.

The place of composition has been as much disputed as the time. The most common opinion is that this was Rome. This is the uniform assertion of the Fathers—Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Eusebius, Jerome, and Epiphanius. It is stated in the subscription to several cursive manuscripts. In the Peshito there is the following subscription: “Here ends the holy Gospel, the announcement of Mark, which he spoke and preached at Rome in the Roman language.” The same opinion is adopted by most recent critics. The fact that the Gospel was written for Gentile readers, and the Latinisms which are found in it, are favourable to this supposition. An argument has been drawn from Rom. xvi. 13, where it is written: “Salute Rufus, the chosen in the Lord.” In the Gospel, Simon the Cyrenian, who carried the cross of Jesus, is called the father of Alexander and Rufus (Mark xv. 21). Now, if this Rufus who, being thus saluted in the Epistle to the Romans, was evidently an important member of the Church of Rome, was the son of Simon the Cyrenian, it was natural that Mark, when writing his Gospel at Rome, should allude to him. To this supposition there is, however, a formidable objection. If Mark wrote his Gospel at Rome and for the Romans, there was not sufficient time for its transmission to Palestine, in order to its being used by Matthew at such an early period as A.D. 55.¹

Other places have been fixed on. Chrysostom mentions a tradition which fixes on Alexandria as the place of composition. “Mark is said (λέγεται) to have composed his Gospel in Egypt at the solicitation of his friends there.”²

¹ See *supra*, p. 140.

² Chrysostom, *Hom. in Matt.* i.

This statement is also found in some cursive manuscripts to which the subscription *ἐγράφη ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ* is attached. Some (Simon, Lardner, Eichhorn, Michaelis) suppose a double place of composition: that the Gospel was written partly in Rome and partly in Alexandria. Jerome says that Mark, taking the Gospel with him which he had composed, went into Egypt.¹ Michaelis supposes that Mark wrote his Gospel at Rome, but finished it at Alexandria, which accounts for the difference which exists between Mark xvi. 9–20 and the rest of the Gospel.² There is no ground for this supposition: it is mentioned by none of the Alexandrian Fathers.

Storr³ conjectures Antioch to be the place of composition, because Mark was residing there, near the seat of apostolic tradition, and in contact with the Gentile converts. The Church of Antioch was also visited by Peter (Gal. ii. 11), whose companion and interpreter Mark was. Storr also enforces his argument by the combination of Acts xi. 19, 20 and Mark xv. 21. In the Acts we learn that men of Cyrene came to Antioch: in the Gospel we are told that Simon, the father of Alexander and Rufus, who bore the cross, was a Cyrenian. He thinks it probable that Alexander and Rufus were among the men of Cyrene who came to Antioch.

More plausible is the supposition of Birks, that Caesarea was the place of writing. "The second Gospel," he observes, "was written by John Mark about the year 48, and probably at Caesarea, with a reference not only to Jewish believers, but to Gentile Roman converts, who would have multiplied there in seven or eight years from the conversion of Cornelius."⁴ This would afford Matthew easy access to the Gospel of Mark, and that at an early period. Mark's connection with Peter may have been, not in Rome, but in Palestine.

¹ *Assumpto itaque Evangelio quod ipse confecerat perrexit Aegyptum.*

² *Marsh's Michaelis*, vol. iv. p. 210.

³ *Ueber den Zweck der evangelischen Geschichte*, p. 278 ff.

⁴ *Howe evangelicæ*, p. 238.

VIII. CONTENTS OF THE GOSPEL.

This Gospel may be conveniently divided into three parts.

1. *The preparation for the ministry*, i. 1–13, containing the ministry of John the Baptist, the baptism of Jesus, and the temptation in the wilderness.

2. *The ministry in Galilee*, i. 14–x. 42, forming the main part of the ministry, containing the call of the apostles, an account of the miracles of Christ, a series of parables, the mission of the apostles, the death of the Baptist, the twofold miraculous feeding of the multitude, the confession by the disciples of the Messiahship of Jesus, the Transfiguration, a minute account of the cure of the demoniac boy, the blessing pronounced on little children, the rich young ruler, the cure of blind Bartimæus.

3. *The close of the ministry at Jerusalem*, xi. 1–xvi. 20, containing the triumphal entrance into Jerusalem, the retirement to Bethany, the parable of the wicked husbandmen, the prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem, the partaking of the Passover and the institution of the Lord's Supper, the agony at Gethsemane, the double trial before Caiaphas and Pilate, the crucifixion, the burial, the women at the sepulchre, the resurrection.

There is little that is peculiar to Mark, but there are many additions to the narrative. Many of these we have already noted when considering its vividness and its graphic touches.¹ It is from Mark that we learn that Jesus Himself was a carpenter; that those who were cured, although told to tell the miracles to none, yet blazed them abroad; that the reason why His friends wished to lay hold of Him was because they thought that He was beside Himself; that Jesus was repeatedly moved with indignation at the perversity of His hearers; and that it was Peter, James, John, and Andrew who asked him about the destruction of Jerusalem.

No fewer than eighteen miracles are narrated in Mark's Gospel. It is the record, not so much of the discourses of Jesus, as of His mighty works. The miracles recorded are,

¹ See *supra*, p. 185.

the cure of the man with an unclean spirit in the synagogue of Capernaum, i. 23-28; the cure of Simon's wife's mother, i. 30, 31; the cleansing of the leper, i. 40-45; the healing of the paralytic man, ii. 1-12; the cure of the man with the withered hand, iii. 1-5; the stilling of the storm, iv. 35-41; the cure of the Gadarene demoniac, v. 1-20; the healing of the woman with the issue of blood, v. 25-34; the raising of the daughter of Jairus, v. 35-43; the feeding of the five thousand, vi. 30-44; the walking on the lake, vi. 45-52; the cure of the daughter of the Syrophenician woman, vii. 24-30; the healing of the deaf mute, recorded only by Mark, vii. 31-37; the feeding of the four thousand, viii. 1-9; the gradual cure of the blind man at Bethsaida, recorded only by Mark, viii. 22-26; the cure of the epileptic boy, ix. 17-29; the cure of blind Bartimæus, x. 46-52; and the withering of the fig tree, xi. 12-14.

On the other hand, only four parables are recorded by Mark: the Sower, iv. 3-8; the Seed growing gradually, peculiar to Mark, iv. 26-29; the Mustard Seed, iv. 30-32; and the Vineyard and the Husbandmen, xii. 1-11.

THE GOSPEL OF LUKE.



LITERATURE.—The principal commentaries and dissertations on the Gospel of Luke are those of Schleiermacher, *Ueber die Schriften des Lukas kritischer Versuch* (Berlin, 1817), translated by Bishop Thirlwall, with a valuable introduction (London, 1825); Olshausen (1837, English translation, 1863); De Wette (3rd ed. Leipsic, 1846); Trollope, *Commentary on St. Luke's Gospel* (London, 1847); Ewald (Göttingen, 1850); Meyer (1st ed. Göttingen, 1860, 6th ed. by Weiss, 1878, translated by the Rev. Robert Wallis, Edinburgh, 1880); Grimm, *Die Einheit des Lukasevangelium* (Regensburg, 1863); Oosterzee in Lange's *Bibelwerk* (3rd ed. Bielefeld, 1877), translated by Dr. Schaff (New York, 1866); Van Doren, *Suggestive Commentary on St. Luke* (London, 1868); Godet (Neuchatel, 1871, translated Edinburgh, 1875); Bishop Jones in the *Speaker's Commentary* (London, 1875); Alford in his *Greek Testament*, last edition (London, 1894); Dean Plumptre in *Bishop Ellicott's Commentary* (1879); Farrar on Luke in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools* (London, 1882); Riddle in *International Commentary* (New York, 1882); Dean Spence in *Pulpit Commentary* (London, 1889); Dr. Colin Campbell, *Critical Studies in St. Luke's Gospel* (Edinburgh, 1890).

I. GENUINENESS OF THE GOSPEL.

The genuineness of the Gospel of Luke is sufficiently attested. It is true that we cannot here appeal to the Apostolic Fathers, as this Gospel was the latest written of the Synoptic Gospels, and as it is difficult to determine whether

the citations adduced are taken from it or from the Gospel of Matthew.¹ It has been affirmed that the Gospel of Luke is quoted by Paul in his First Epistle to Timothy: "For the scripture saith (λέγει ἡ γραφή), Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn. And, The labourer is worthy of his hire" (1 Tim. v. 18). The last clause of the verse is only to be found in Luke's Gospel, where the very same words occur: ἄξιος ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ (Luke x. 7). There is nothing incredible in this supposition, considering the close connection between Luke and Paul, and the probability that the Gospel of Luke was written before the First Epistle to Timothy; but we hardly think that this Gospel at so early a period would be considered as scripture (ἡ γραφή). Marcion (A.D. 140) is perhaps the earliest witness to the Gospel of Luke. Marcion's Gospel, as we shall afterwards see, was merely a mutilated form of Luke's, and he was living when Justin Martyr wrote his Apologies. "There is," says Justin, "Marcion, a man of Pontus, who is even at this day alive, and teaching his disciples to believe in some other god greater than the Creator."² Allowing time for the diffusion of his opinions, the Gospel of Marcion cannot be placed later than ten years before the time of Justin. The distinct references of Justin Martyr himself (A.D. 150) to the Gospel of Luke are very numerous. He does not indeed mention the name of Luke, but his citations from the Gospel are unmistakable. The following are the principal quotations: "The Virgin Mary received faith and joy, when the angel Gabriel announced the good tidings to her that the Spirit of the Lord would come upon her."³ "On the occasion of the first census which was taken in Judea under Cyrenius, Joseph went up from Nazareth, where he dwelt, to Bethlehem, to which he belonged, to be enrolled; for his family was of the tribe of Judah, which then inhabited that region."⁴ "Jesus said to His disciples, I give unto you power to tread on serpents, and

¹ In Charteris' *Canonicity*, testimonies are given from Barnabas, Ep. xiv. 1; Clement of Rome, 1 Ep. xiii. 2, xlv. 8, lix. 3; Hermas, *Mand.* v. 2. 7; these, however, cannot be depended on.

² Justin, *Apol.* i. 26.

³ *Dialog. c. Trypho*, ch. c.

⁴ *Ibid.* ch. lxxviii.

scorpions, and on all the might of the enemy" (Luke x. 19).¹ "In the Memoirs, which were composed by His apostles and those who followed them, it is recorded that His sweat fell down like drops of blood while He prayed, saying, If it be possible, let this cup pass" (Luke xxii. 42).² "When Christ was giving up His spirit on the cross, He said, 'Father, into Thy hands I commend My spirit,' as I have learned from the Memoirs" (Luke xxiii. 46).³ Tatian (A.D. 160) included Luke's Gospel in his Diatessaron, a complete copy of which has recently been discovered. In the Muratorian canon (A.D. 170) the Gospel of Luke is thus mentioned: "The third Gospel is according to Luke. Luke, a physician, whom Paul after the ascension of Christ had chosen as a companion of his journey, wrote this in his own name and according to his own judgment; yet he had not himself seen the Lord in the flesh. Carrying his narrative as far back as he could obtain information, he began from the birth of John."⁴ In the Epistle of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons (A.D. 177) there is a reference to Luke's Gospel. "His (Vettius Epagathus) was so consistent a life, that although young he had obtained a reputation equal to that of the elder Zacharias, for he walked in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless" (Luke i. 6).⁵ Celsus, who is generally supposed to have lived about A.D. 178, refers to Luke's Gospel, when he adverts to the genealogy of Christ being traced up to Adam.⁶ The first Father who mentions Luke as the author of the third Gospel is Irenæus (A.D. 180). "Luke, the follower and the disciple of the apostles, referring to Zacharias and Elizabeth, from whom, according to promise, John was born, says: 'And they were both righteous before God, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless.'"⁷ And again, "Now, if any man set Luke aside, as one who did not know the truth, he will manifestly reject that Gospel of which he claims to be a disciple."⁸ Irenæus quotes the Gospel of Luke about eighty times. It is needless to pursue

¹ *Dialog. c. Trypho*, ch. lxxvi.

² *Ibid.* ch. cv.

³ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 1.

⁴ Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* iii. 10. 1.

⁵ *Ibid.* ch. ciii.

⁶ Tregelles, *Codex Muratorius*.

⁷ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, ii. 32.

⁸ *Ibid.* iii. 14. 3.

the subject further, for after this there is no doubt or question about Luke's authorship of the third Gospel.¹

Another distinct line of argument is drawn from the relation of the third Gospel to the Acts of the Apostles. These writings profess to have the same author. In the Acts the writer alludes to his former treatise. Both works are addressed or dedicated to a certain Theophilus (Acts i. 1; Luke i. 3). This identity of authorship was never called in question by the early Church, and in modern times has been admitted by scholars of all shades of opinion. Dr. Davidson mentions no less than forty-seven terms which occur in both works, but nowhere else in the New Testament.² De Wette observes: "It is certain that the writer of the Acts is the author of the third Gospel, and his peculiarity of style remains the same in both works, and in the Acts of the Apostles from the beginning to the end."³ And so also Zeller remarks: "The identity of the author of the two writings is raised to such a height of probability that we have every reason to consider it as historically proved."⁴ Admitting this identity of authorship, it follows that the whole series of testimonies in favour of the Acts can also be adduced in favour of the genuineness of the third Gospel. Now the testimonies for the Acts are strong and numerous. It is quoted or referred to by Polycarp in his Epistle to the Philippians,⁵ in the Epistle to the Churches of Lyons and Vienne,⁶ by Irenæus,⁷ Clemens Alexandrinus,⁸ Tertullian,⁹ Origen,¹⁰ and subsequent Fathers. Eusebius places both the Gospel of Luke and the Acts among those books which are universally acknowledged.¹¹

¹ Luke's Gospel is also frequently quoted in the *Clementine Homilies* (A.D. 160-170).

² Davidson's *Introduction to the N.T.* vol. ii. 8. See also Davidson's *Introduction to the Study of the N.T.* vol. ii. p. 151, 3rd ed., and Zeller's *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 414-425.

³ De Wette's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 10.

⁴ Zeller's *Acts of the Apostles*, translation, vol. ii. 213; *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 442.

⁵ *Ep. ad Philipp.* ch. i.

⁶ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 1

⁷ *Adv. Hær.* iii. 14. 1.

⁸ *Stromata*, v. 12.

⁹ *De Jejuniis*, ch. x.

¹⁰ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 25.

¹¹ *Ibid.* iii. 4.

Olshausen has good reason for the assertion : " In the primitive Church there was no opposition either to Luke's Gospel or to the Acts of the Apostles." ¹

In recent times the Gospel of Luke has been more or less disputed, especially by Eichhorn, who supposed it to be an enlargement of the Gospel of Marcion ; by those critics belonging to the early Tübingen school who placed the time of its composition about the middle of the second century ; and by many of those theologians who have adopted the so-called twofold documentary hypothesis concerning the origin of the Synoptic Gospels. There have also been special objections adduced against the genuineness of this Gospel, as, for example, the apparently mythical account of the birth of Christ and its supposed discrepancy with the account given by Matthew, a subject which has already been discussed ; ² the apparent contradiction between the genealogies of Christ given by Matthew and Luke, which is reserved for a separate dissertation ; and the supposed erroneous historical statement concerning the enrolment made by Cyrenius, governor of Syria (Luke ii. 1), which will be considered when we treat of the chronology of the Gospels.

The chief, or at least the most noteworthy, objection brought against the genuineness of Luke's Gospel is its relation to the Gospel of Marcion, of which several critics consider that it is merely an amplification. On account of its importance and the interest connected with it, we shall examine this subject in detail. ³

Marcion, one of the most notorious, and in several

¹ Olshausen, *On the Gospel and the Acts*, vol. i. p. xli.

² See *supra*, pp. 135 ff.

³ The chief works on the relation of Marcion's Gospel to that of Luke, are Hahn's *Evangelium Marcion*, contained in the *Codex Apocryphus N.T.* of Thilo, pp. 401-486 (Leipsic, 1833) ; Ritschl's *Das Evangelium Marcions und das kanonische Evangelium Lukas* (Tübingen, 1846) ; Volkmar, *Das Evangelium Marcions* (Leipsic, 1852) ; Rönsch, *Das Neue Testamentum Tertullian*, 1871 ; Baring Gould, *Lost and Hostile Gospels*, pp. 235-277 (London, 1874) ; Hill's *Marcion's Gospel* (Guernsey, 1893). The subject is also more or less discussed in Bleek's *Introduction to the N.T.* vol. i. pp. 138-154 ; in an elaborate article on Marcion, by Professor Salmon, in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography* ; in Professor Sanday's *Gospels of the Second Century* ; in an article on Gnosis in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie*,

respects one of the most interesting of the early heretics, was a contemporary of Justin Martyr, and wrote about A.D. 140. He was a native of Sinope, in the province of Pontus, of which town his father was bishop. A Christian by birth, he received a thorough Christian education, as is proved by his writings. Perplexed with the existence of evil under the government of a good and holy God of infinite power and wisdom, he fell into heresy, and became a disciple of the Syrian Gnostic Cerdo, whose system he developed. "Cerdo," says Irenæus, "taught that the God proclaimed by the law and the prophets was not the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. The former was known, the latter unknown; the one was righteous, the other benevolent. Marcion of Pontus succeeded him, and developed his doctrine."¹ About A.D. 140 he followed Cerdo to Rome, where he was excommunicated on account of his erroneous opinions, and in consequence formed a sect of his own. Irenæus informs us that he met with Polycarp at Rome, and, wishing to procure the recognition of that Father, asked him, Dost thou know me? to whom Polycarp replied, I recognise thee as the firstborn of Satan.² There does not appear to have been anything immoral in his teaching, nor, so far as appears, in his conduct.³ Unlike many of the early heretics, his doctrine was moral; he even carried asceticism to an unwarrantable extent, not only inculcating abstinence from the use of wine and animal food, except fish, but forbidding his disciples to marry. In the early centuries Marcionism was diffused throughout the Christian Church by reason of its plausibility and the high morality and self-denial which it inculcated. There was a regular Church formed, with its bishops and presbyters. Epiphanius tells us that besides Rome, where it was at first promulgated, it spread into Egypt, Palestine, Arabia, Syria, Cyprus, and Persia. It gradually disappeared in the fourth century, owing to the rise and growth of Manichæanism, a

2nd ed. vol. v. pp. 231-236, by Jacobi; and in Harnack's *Quellenkritik des Gnosticismus*.

¹ Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* i. 27. 1.

² *Ibid.* iii. 3. 4.

³ The charge of youthful incontinence brought against him is not confirmed by Irenæus or Tertullian.

system which it closely resembled, and on account of the repressive measures of Constantine and his successors.

Marcion is generally reckoned among the earliest of the Gnostic heretics. And certainly many of his doctrines, such as the difference between the supreme God and the Creator, and the docetic nature of Christ, are tenets of Gnosticism. But in his system he does not recognise the Gnostic æons, as the connecting links between the supreme God and the world; nor is there any mixture of heathen philosophy and Oriental speculation, as is the case with all other Gnostic systems.¹ He contemplated religion from a Christian standpoint. He asserted that the evil which was in the world could not possibly have arisen under the government of a good God; and that consequently there was a difference between God the Creator of the world, the Demiurge (*δημιουργός*) of the Gnostics, and the supreme God. In short, he taught that there were two Gods. The Creator was an inferior being to the God of the Gospel, but not, as some of the Gnostics taught, an evil principle. His inferiority consisted in defect; He was limited in power and knowledge, and even goodness.² Hence there was a certain difference, often amounting to antagonism, between the Old Testament and the New. The God of the Old Testament was the Creator, whilst the God of the New Testament was the supreme God; the God of the Old Testament was the God of justice, the God of the New Testament was the God of love.³ The law was opposed to the Gospel; the prophets

¹ As Mansel observes: "Marcion is the least Gnostic of all the Gnostics." *The Gnostic Heresies*, p. 218. "Marcion," says Harnack, "put all emphasis on faith, not on Gnosis." *History of Dogma*, vol. i. p. 266.

² For these tenets of Marcion, see the account of Marcion and his doctrines in Mansel's *Gnostic Heresy*, lect. xiii.; Salmon's article on Marcion in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*. "Marcion," says Irenæus, "advanced the most daring blasphemy against Him who is proclaimed as God by the law and the prophets, declaring Him to be the author of evils, to delight in war, to be infirm of purpose, and even to be contrary to Himself." *Adv. Har.* i. 27. 2.

³ Thus he observes: "'Thou shall love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy,' was the command of the just God; 'Love thine enemies,' was the law of the good God. 'An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth,' was the retributive law of the just God; 'If any smite thee on the right

of the Old Testament were not the inspired servants of the supreme God, but the servants of the Demiurge. The supreme God was unknown until Christ revealed Him: "No man has known the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal Him." And as there were two Gods, so, according to Marcion, there were two Messiahs—the Messiah of the prophets and the Messiah of the New Testament. The Jewish Messiah was to be a victorious King; the Christian Messiah was to be a suffering Saviour. The one was to rule the nations with a rod of iron, the other was to die as a sacrifice for sin. The one was to be the Deliverer of Israel, the other was to be the Saviour of the world. Jesus came not to fulfil, but to abolish the law and the prophets and the works of the Creator of the world.¹ In conformity with these views and his opposition to the Jewish religion, Marcion considered Paul, on account of his conflict with the Judaizing Christians, as the only true apostle. Hence he accepted only ten Epistles of Paul, and rejected all the other books of the New Testament, with the exception of the Gospel of Luke, as infected with Judaism. Such a system, at once compact and consistent, was violently opposed by the early Fathers. Justin Martyr and Irenæus both wrote against it; but the chief opponents of Marcion were Tertullian² and Epiphanius.

But it is the Gospel of Marcion that we have especially to consider, and its relation to the Gospel of Luke. Besides a work termed *ἀντιθέσεις*, containing a series of antitheses between the Old Testament, the revelation of the Creator or the God of justice, and the New Testament, the revelation of the supreme God or the God of love, Marcion wrote a gospel. It is no longer extant, but we have numerous

cheek, turn to him the other also,' was the command of the good God."

¹ So Irenæus asserts that Marcion taught that "Jesus was manifested in the form of a man to those who were in Judæa, abolishing the prophets and the law and all the work of that God who made the world."—*Adv. Hær.* i. 27. 2.

² Tertullian wrote a special work against Marcion, in which he employs all his vehemence and eloquence. In this he is followed by Epiphanius, who, however, wrote independently of Tertullian.

extracts from it in the writings of Tertullian and Epiphanius. From these extracts it appears that it bears a very close resemblance to our canonical Gospel of Luke. Marcion entitled it "the Gospel of the Lord" (*Τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Κυρίου*), being, as he supposed, the true Gospel of Christ—the Gospel of the God of love. It commences with the words: "In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judæa, Jesus¹ came down to Capernaum, a city of Galilee, and was teaching on the Sabbath day; and they were astonished at His doctrine, for His word was with authority" (comp. Luke iii. 1, iv. 31, 32). In this Gospel Jesus suddenly appears in the world.² There is no mention of His birth, for this is opposed to the Docetic views of Marcion; nor of His baptism, as the Baptist was regarded as a prophet of the Old Testament. The Gospel of Luke is strictly followed throughout; and, in general, the same order is preserved. There are no statements of incidents or discourses which are not found in Luke's Gospel; there are indeed numerous omissions, but two-thirds of Luke's Gospel are preserved, though in an altered form. The omissions are generally accounted for by Marcion's peculiar views; all those passages being omitted which would seem to recognise the divine origin of the Jewish religion.³ Sometimes, however, no reason can be assigned for the omission, as, for example, in the case of the parable of the Prodigal Son, which one would think to be rather in favour of Marcion's conception of the God of the New Testament as the God of love. There are also numerous verbal alterations, most of which can be explained by Marcion's peculiar views.⁴ Several attempts have been made at the reconstruction of Marcion's Gospel

¹ For Jesus, Hahn and Westcott read God, namely, the good God, as distinguished from the Creator.

² Tertullian, *Adv. Marcion.* iv. 7.

³ The omissions of Marcion are the following: Luke i., ii., iii., iv. 1–15, xiii. 1–9, xiii. 29–35, xv. 11–32, xviii. 31–34, xix. 29–48, xx. 9–18, xxii. 35–38, xxii. 49–51, xxiv. 48–53.

⁴ There is in Marcion's Gospel a curious alteration in the Lord's Prayer. Marcion has, "Father, may Thy Holy Spirit come upon us," instead of, "Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be Thy name." Baring-Gould's *Lost and Hostile Gospels*, p. 252. Hill's *Marcion's Gospel*,

from the numerous quotations given from it by Tertullian and Epiphanius, and from their remarks, as both these Fathers criticise that Gospel passage by passage.¹ In this manner we can ascertain with tolerable certainty what passages of Luke's Gospel are omitted and what are retained, as well as in what parts the Gospel of Marcion differs from our third Gospel.

The question arises, What is the relation between the Gospel of Marcion and our canonical Gospel of Luke? Is Marcion's Gospel merely a mutilation of Luke's, made with the purpose of making it correspond with his heretical views? Or, Is the Gospel of Marcion the prior or original Gospel, of which our third Gospel is an expansion and recension? Is it the first edition, so to speak, of Luke's Gospel? On this point the Fathers are unanimous; they with one voice accuse Marcion of mutilating the Gospel of Luke. Thus Irenæus says: "Marcion mutilates the Gospel which is according to Luke, removing from it all that is written respecting the generation of the Lord, and setting aside a great deal of the teaching of the Lord, in which the Lord is recorded as most clearly confessing that the Maker of the universe is His Father."² And Tertullian observes: "It is certain that Marcion has erased everything that was contrary to his own opinion and in favour of the Creator, as if it had been interpolated, whilst anything that agreed with his own opinion he has retained."³ Some modern critics have, however, impugned these statements, and asserted that they proceeded from prejudice; and that Marcion's Gospel is an original work, and the chief source from which our Gospel of Luke was composed. The first who adopted this view was Semler, and he has been followed by Eichhorn and his school, as this opinion was favourable to their hypothesis of original documents. Afterwards this opinion was at one time maintained by Baur,⁴

p. 25. Hahn, however, gives the words as they are found in our Gospel. See Tertullian, *Adv. Marcion.* iv. 26.

¹ This was done by Hahn, *Evangelium Marcionis ex auctoritate veterum monumentorum*; inserted in Thilo's *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, pp. 461-486. Hill's *Marcion's Gospel* is an English translation of the work of Hahn with some variations.

² *Adv. Har.* i. 27. 2.

³ Tertullian, *Adv. Marcion.* iv. 6.

⁴ *Marcusevangelium*, pp. 191 ff.

Ritschl,¹ Schwegler,² and other critics belonging to the early Tübingen school.³ But, on the other hand, strange to say, the strongest advocate in favour of the patristic opinion, that Marcion's Gospel was a mutilation of Luke's, was Volkmar,⁴ one of the most pronounced disciples of the Tübingen school; and he so convincingly vindicated this view, that most of his opponents were gained over and retracted their opinions. Thus Ritschl says: "The hypothesis propounded by me, that Marcion did not alter the Gospel of Luke, but that his Gospel is a step towards the canonical Luke, I regard as refuted by Volkmar and Hilgenfeld."⁵ So also Zeller, belonging to the Tübingen school, observes: "We may admit as proved and generally accepted, not only that Marcion made use of an older Gospel, but further, that he recomposed, modified, and often abridged it, and that this older Gospel was essentially none other than that of Luke."⁶ Professor Sanday, by a minute critical examination, has proved that the passages omitted by Marcion are written by the same author as those which are retained.⁷ In consequence of this examination the author of *Supernatural Religion* also acknowledged that he was in error in holding that Marcion's Gospel was the original.⁸ The only theologian, so far as we are aware, who still maintains the paradoxical opinion of the priority of Marcion's Gospel is Baring-Gould. "The Gospel of our Lord," he observes, "if not the original Luke Gospel,—and this is probable,—was the basis of Luke's compilation. But that it was Luke's first edition of his Gospel, drawn up when St. Paul was actively engaged in founding the Asiatic Churches, is the view I am disposed to take of it. . . . All these facts point to

¹ *Das Evangelium Marcions und das kanonische Evangelium des Lucas.*

² *Nachapostol. Zeitalter*, vol. i. p. 260.

³ See Bleek's *Introduction to the N.T.* vol. i. pp. 143, 144, notes; and Meyer's *Commentary on Luke*, vol. i. p. 264, Remark 2, English translation.

⁴ *Das Evangelium Marcions.*

⁵ *Theolog. Jahrbuch*, 1851, pp. 528 f., quoted by Meyer.

⁶ Zeller's *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 11-26: translation, vol. i. pp. 99 ff.

⁷ Sanday's *Gospels of the Second Century*, pp. 204-237, and pp. 362-372.

⁸ Salmon's *Introduction to the N.T.* p. 245.

Marcion's Gospel as the original Luke, not, however, quite as it came to Marcion, but edited by the heretic."¹

It may now be considered as demonstrated that the Gospel of Marcion is a mutilation of the Gospel of Luke. He first formed his own opinions on the opposition between the Old and New Testaments,—the difference between the God of creation and the God and Father of the Lord Jesus Christ,—the antithesis between Judaism and Christianity, and selected the Gospel of Luke as the Gospel which appeared to him best suited for his purpose, and by omissions and alterations adapted it to his opinions. As Bleek observes: "He excludes all passages in which the Gospel history is brought into harmony with the Old Testament revelation, in which the New Testament is represented as the fulfilment of the Old Testament prophecies, in which Christ is described as springing from the Jewish nation and of human parentage and partaker of human weaknesses, in which Christ describes God, after the manner of the Old Testament, as an avenging Judge."² The following alterations will illustrate the method on which Marcion proceeded. The words, "When ye see Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and all the prophets in the kingdom of God" (xiii. 28), are changed into, "When you shall see all the righteous (πάντας τοὺς δικαίους) in the kingdom of God." The declaration of our Lord, "It is easier for heaven and earth to pass away, than for one tittle of the law to fail" (xvi. 17), is altered into, "It is easier for heaven and earth to pass away, even as the law and the prophets have passed away, than for one tittle of My words to fail." And the address of our Lord to the disciples going to Emmaus, "O foolish men, and slow of heart to believe in all that the prophets have spoken" (xxiv. 25), is transformed into, "O foolish men, and slow of heart to believe in all that He spoke to you."³

Another objection brought against the Gospel of Luke is its alleged Ebionite tendency.⁴ It is asserted that this

¹ *Lost and Hostile Gospels*, pp. 275, 276.

² Bleek's *Introduction to the N.T.* vol. i. p. 149. See also Sanday, *Gospels of the Second Century*, p. 219.

³ See Hill's *Marcion's Gospel*. Hahn's *Evangelium Marcionis*.

⁴ See Dr. Colin Campbell's *Critical Studies in St. Luke*; also Renan's

Gospel, or at least a considerable portion of it, is the work of an Ebionite. By this is not meant, as the term Ebionite usually denotes,¹ the maintenance of a Jewish form of Christianity, the direct opposite of Marcionism, which is certainly not taught in Luke's Gospel, but the exaltation of poverty and the denunciation of riches. The reasons for this opinion are, that throughout this Gospel poverty is praised, whilst riches are denounced. Thus in the beatitudes the words are: "Blessed are ye poor: for yours is the kingdom of God" (vi. 20), without the restriction found in Matthew's Gospel: "Blessed are the poor in spirit." A woe is pronounced upon the rich: "Woe unto you that are rich: for ye have received your consolation" (vi. 24); in the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, the rich man is condemned apparently on account of his riches, and Lazarus is saved apparently on account of his poverty and wretchedness; the rich young ruler is told that in order to inherit eternal life he must sell all that he has and give it to the poor; and the widow woman is commended for casting in her mite into the treasury. Now it is true that this Gospel may, in a peculiar sense, be styled "the Gospel of the poor": its consolations are peculiarly addressed to them. But the passages adduced are too few to warrant the conclusion that the Gospel of Luke was composed with a special tendency to exalt poverty and to promote asceticism. Zacchæus, the rich publican, is commended: of him it is said that salvation has come into his house.

II. THE AUTHOR OF THE GOSPEL.

In the Greek manuscripts this Gospel is entitled, *εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Λουκᾶν* or simply *κατὰ Λουκᾶν*. The earliest Fathers who quote this Gospel do not assign it to any particular person. The first assertion of the authorship

Introduction to the *Vie de Jesus*, and Davidson's *Introduction to the N.T.* 3rd ed. vol. i. pp. 404 ff.

¹ The Ebionites were a Jewish Christian sect who seceded from the Church about the middle of the second century. They considered the Jewish law still binding, and held low views of the nature of Christ.

of Luke which we meet with, is in the Muratorian canon and in the writings of Irenæus.

The name Lucas is a contraction of Lucanus, as Silas is of Silvanus. Luke is not to be confounded with Lucius, one of the teachers in the Church of Antioch (Acts xiii. 1), nor with Lucius, mentioned in the Epistle to the Romans (Rom. xvi. 21), as the names are entirely different. He is thrice mentioned by Paul in his Epistles (Col. iv. 14; Philem. 24; 2 Tim. iv. 11). Some suppose that he is also alluded to in 2 Cor. viii. 18, where Paul says: "We have sent together with him (Titus) the brother whose praise in the Gospel *is spread* through all the Churches; and not only so, but who was also appointed by the Churches to travel with us in *the matter of this grace*": not because there is any allusion in the words, "whose praise is in the Gospel," to the Gospel of Luke, but because Luke was one of the deputies of the Churches who went with Paul to Jerusalem; and he might have been sent along with Titus to take charge of the contribution of the Church of Corinth. We are ignorant of the birthplace of Luke. Eusebius, Jerome, and Nicephorus inform us that this was Antioch;¹ but this may have arisen from confounding him with Lucius of Cyrene (Acts xiii. 1); others fix on Troas, because there he first joined the apostle; and others, as Greswell, conjecture that he was an inhabitant of Philippi, because, according to the narrative of the Acts, he appears to have resided there for several years. From a statement made by Paul (comp. Col. iv. 11 with ver. 14), he appears to have been a Gentile by birth. The purity of his Greek, and the comparative absence of Hebraisms, are in favour of his Gentile origin, though these may be accounted for on the supposition that he was a Hellenistic Jew. It is doubtful whether he was a proselyte to Judaism before his conversion to Christianity, as Jerome asserts, and as his acquaintance with Jewish rites and ordinances would seem to imply. Paul calls him "Luke, the beloved physician" (Col. iv. 14); and some think that there are proofs of his medical knowledge to be found in his writings from the precise and exact manner in which he

¹ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 4.

speaks of diseases and miracles of healing:¹ as that Peter's mother-in-law was afflicted with a great fever (*πυρετῶ μεγάλη*), Elymas was struck with blindness (*ἄχλυσ*), a technical term (Acts xiii. 11), and the father of Publius lay sick of fevers and dysentery (*πυρετοῖς καὶ δυσεντερίῳ*, Acts xxviii. 8); but the argument from these and similar expressions is overdrawn. Grotius supposes that Luke was originally a slave, because the most eminent physicians mentioned in Roman history were of this class:² but there is no ground for this supposition, as among the Greeks the medical profession was highly esteemed and practised by men of liberal education.

We learn from the Acts that Luke was the companion of Paul. The author of the Acts joined Paul on his missionary journeys at Troas, when the style of narrative changes from the indirect to the direct form: instead of the third, the first person pronoun is employed (Acts xvi. 10). He passed with the apostle into Macedonia, and was with him at Philippi (Acts xvi. 11, 13). Here he appears to have remained behind, for the narrative again changes from the first to the third person; and it is not until Paul's return, seven years after, to Philippi that the direct form is resumed (Acts xx. 6). Hence it is with some probability assumed that Luke remained at Philippi. He was doubtless one of the messengers of the Churches who accompanied the apostle on his last momentous journey to Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 1, 15, 17). Probably he remained with Paul during his imprisonment of two years at Cæsarea, for he sailed with him from that city to Rome (Acts xxvii. 1–3, xxviii. 16). He was with the apostle during his first Roman imprisonment, when Paul wrote the Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon (Col. iv. 11; Philem. 24), and was also with him during his second Roman imprisonment, remaining with him to the close of his life (2 Tim. iv. 11). "He was," says Irenæus, "always attached to and inseparable from Paul."³

¹ Hobart, *The Medical Language of St. Luke*.

² As Antestius the physician of Julius Cæsar, and Antoninus Musa the physician of Augustus.

³ *Adv. Hær.* iii. 14. 1.

We have few notices of Luke in the patristic writings and in the early ecclesiastical histories, and all of them are of a legendary character. Epiphanius informs us that he was one of the seventy disciples, probably because it is only in the Gospel of Luke that the mission of the seventy is recorded; but this statement is refuted by Luke himself, who in the preface to his Gospel evidently implies that he was not one of our Lord's immediate followers (Luke i. 1-3). For the same reason the plausible assertion of Theophylact, that he was one of the disciples going to Emmaus to whom Jesus after His resurrection revealed Himself, is to be rejected. The tradition that he was a painter rests on the authority of Nicephorus of the fourteenth century, and is entitled to no credit.¹ It seems to have arisen from a rude picture of the Virgin being found in the Catacombs with the inscription that it was one of the seven painted by Luca. According to Epiphanius, he preached the gospel in Dalmatia, Gallia, Italy, and Macedonia. According to Jerome, he died a natural death in the eighty-fourth year of his age. Gregory Nazianzen reckons him among the martyrs; and according to Nicephorus he returned to Greece, where he suffered martyrdom by being hanged on an olive tree in the eightieth year of his age. His remains were removed to Constantinople by the order of Constantine.²

As, according to the Fathers, there was a close connection between the Apostle Peter and the evangelist Mark, so they held that there was a similar connection between Paul and Luke. The Gospel of Luke was regarded by them in a certain sense as the Gospel of Paul. Thus Irenæus observes: "Luke, the companion of Paul, recorded in a book the gospel preached by him."³ Tertullian says: "Men usually ascribe Luke's form of the Gospel to Paul."⁴ And Origen writes: "Among the four Gospels which are the only indisputable ones in the Church of God, I have learned by

¹ Nicephorus, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 4.

² See Baring-Gould's *Lives of the Saints*, October 18; Winer's *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*; Cave's *Lives of the Apostles*.

³ Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* iii. 1. 1.

⁴ Tertullian, *Adv. Marcion.* iv. 5.

tradition . . . that the third was written by Luke, the Gospel commended by Paul, and composed for Gentile converts.”¹ The Gospel of Luke was not, however, so closely dependent on Paul as that of Mark was on Peter. Paul was not himself a follower of Christ when He was in this world, and although he may have materially assisted Luke in the composition of his Gospel by suggestions and by information imparted, yet the evangelist must have derived his facts from other sources, and must have been in direct communication with those who were the immediate followers of the Lord. There is undoubtedly a closer connection with the Pauline phase of doctrine in this Gospel than in the other Gospels. The account of the institution of the Lord’s Supper, as given by Luke, bears a close resemblance to that given by Paul in the First Epistle to the Corinthians (compare Luke xxii. 19, 20 with 1 Cor. xi. 23–25). The Fathers in general supposed that when Paul speaks of “his Gospel” (Rom. ii. 16, xvi. 25; 2 Tim. ii. 8), he means the Gospel of Luke, composed as they imagined under his superintendence. Thus Eusebius says: “They say ($\phi\alpha\sigma\iota$) that Paul meant to refer to Luke’s Gospel whenever, as if speaking of some Gospel of his own, he used the words ‘according to my Gospel.’”² And the same remark is made by Jerome: “Some suppose that whenever Paul in his Epistles makes use of the expression ‘according to my Gospel,’ he means Luke’s writing.”³ All this is mere supposition, as these Fathers themselves seem to imply, and is unsupported by any evidence.

III. SOURCES OF LUKE’S GOSPEL.

On this point we have some solid ground to go. In his preface, Luke gives us information of the sources from which he derived his Gospel: “Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to draw up a narrative concerning those matters which have been fulfilled among us, even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eye-1

¹ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 25.

² *Ibid.* iii. 4.

³ Jerome, *De vir. illustr.* ch. vii.

witnesses and ministers of the word, it seemed good to me also, having traced the course of all things accurately from the first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus; that thou mightest know the certainty concerning the things wherein thou wast instructed" (Luke i. 1-4). From these words it is evident that the evangelist affirms that he himself was not an eye- and ear-witness of the works and discourses of the Lord, for he evidently distinguishes himself from those who were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word. At the same time, he asserts that he was fully qualified to write an account of the actions of Christ; that he possessed sufficient knowledge; that he had traced the course of all things accurately (*ἀκριβῶς*) from the beginning. He mentions two sources of information which he possessed. The first was the oral information which he received from his intercourse with those who had been with Christ—the apostles and disciples of the Lord. This he would carefully ascertain, and under the guidance of the Spirit of God commit to writing. And the second source of information was the narratives of those who were the followers of Christ, many of which had been committed to writing; there were not only oral traditions, but written documents, to which he could refer.

The first source of Luke's information was oral tradition. Here Luke had peculiar advantages. He appears to have been for a considerable period resident in Judaea, in all probability during Paul's two years' imprisonment at Caesarea. He would thus come into direct contact with many who had been the actual followers of Christ; most probably with some of the apostles, and certainly with James the Lord's brother, the so-called bishop of Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 18), and with Philip the evangelist, whom he met at Caesarea (Acts xxi. 8). He had also the advantage of the information which Paul could impart to him, for that apostle must have had frequent communication with the original apostles. The account which Luke gives of the birth of John the Baptist, of the visit of the angel to the Virgin, and of the circumstances attending the birth of the Lord and His presentation in the temple, might have been obtained by him, either from Mary herself, or from James and the other

brethren of our Lord. As he himself tells us, he used the greatest diligence in the collection of the facts and sayings of our Lord.

The other source of information consisted of written documents. These, he asserts, were numerous. "Many (*πολλοι*) have taken in hand to draw up a narrative." We have already had occasion to remark that such evangelical fragments would be abundant in the early Church. Of these Luke would make a careful selection, guided in doing so by a higher wisdom than his own. As we have already stated, he might have had access to a narrative, either oral or written, which does not appear to have been used by the other two evangelists, the so-called Peræan section (Luke ix. 51-xviii. 41).¹ These documents Luke would not employ slavishly, but freely, working them into his narrative. According to Schleiermacher: "Luke is from the beginning to end no more than a compiler and arranger of documents which he found in existence, and which he allows to pass unaltered through his hands." "His great merit consists in this, that he has admitted scarcely any pieces but what are peculiarly genuine and good."² But this is a most erroneous view of the formation of the Gospel of Luke, and is refuted by the uniformity of style and diction which pervades the whole book, as well as the Acts of the Apostles, proving the unity of authorship, and the freedom with which the author used his materials.

It is, however, a very difficult question to determine how far the Gospels of Matthew and Mark are to be classed among the documentary sources of Luke's Gospel. We have already discussed the subject when considering the sources of the Synoptic Gospels,³ and found it one of extreme difficulty, hardly admitting of a satisfactory solution. There is nothing incredible in the supposition that Luke made use of these Gospels, as we consider that they were previously written. But we found that there were reasons for calling

¹ See *supra*, pp. 34, 35.

² Schleiermacher's *Critical Essay on the Gospel of St. Luke*, translated by Thirlwall, pp. 313, 314. See also Renan's *Life of Jesus*, p. xlvi, English translation.

³ See *supra*, pp. 48, 49.

in question his use of Matthew's Gospel, especially on account of the differences in the genealogies and in the narrations of the birth of Christ and of His resurrection in the two Gospels; and we are disposed to infer that Luke had not access to Matthew's Gospel. But it is otherwise with the Gospel of Mark. Considering the similarity of the incidents recorded and of the chronological order of the narrative, and the frequent identity of expression, the probability, amounting however by no means to certainty, is that the narrative of Luke is to a certain extent dependent on the Gospel of Mark.¹ There is nothing in the preface of Luke to forbid this; there is no condemnation in it, as some think, of the previous narratives that were undertaken. At the same time, it must be admitted that there are portions of Mark's Gospel wanting in Luke which we would not expect to have been omitted had Luke that Gospel before him; not only those few parts that are peculiar to Mark, but other portions which are inserted in Matthew's Gospel, but wanting in Luke. All these reasons for and against must leave the question under considerable uncertainty.

IV. DESIGN OF THE GOSPEL.

Both the Gospel of Luke and the Acts are addressed to a certain Theophilus (Luke i. 3; Acts i. 1). The epithet *κράτιστος*, *most noble*, prefixed in the Gospel to his name, seems to intimate that he was a person of rank, as this is an epithet which generally refers, not to character, but to station. It is the same epithet which is given by Claudius Lysias and Tertullus to Felix (Acts xxiii. 26, xxiv. 3), and by Paul to Festus (Acts xxvi. 25). Theophilus was evidently a Christian, as it is stated that he had been a catechumen, fully instructed (*κατηχήθης*) in the religion of Christ. Some of the Fathers (Origen, Ambrose, Epiphanius) suppose that

¹ Meyer observes: "One of his (Luke's) principal documentary sources was the Gospel of Mark. Assuming this, as in view of the priority of Mark among the three Synoptics it must of necessity be assumed, it may be matter of doubt whether Matthew also in his present form was made use of by him or not." *On Luke*, vol. i. p. 261.

the word is not a proper name, but an appellative, denoting a lover of God, and applicable to every Christian reader; but its occurrence in two historical works refutes this opinion. Others (Michaelis,¹ Theodore Hase), wishing to identify him with some historical character, suppose that he may have been the same as Theophilus, the son of Annas, the high priest, who was deposed by King Agrippa,² and that the third Gospel and the Acts were apologies for Christianity,—an extravagant opinion, at variance with the dedication of the Gospel, which implies that Theophilus was a Christian. Some think that he was a native of Alexandria, and others a native of Italy; in all probability he was a Greek Christian of some position and influence.

The immediate design of the Gospel was, according to the preface, that Theophilus might know the certainty of those things wherein he was instructed. But this address to Theophilus must be considered rather as a dedication of the work than a statement of its nature and contents. The Gospel was written for the purpose of giving an authoritative account of the ministry of Jesus for the instruction of Christians, and especially of Gentile Christians. "Luke," says Origen, "composed his Gospel for Gentile converts." This statement is seen to be correct from an examination of its contents. There are explanations of Jewish customs and localities which would have been unnecessary for Jews, but necessary for those who were ignorant of the religious customs of the Jews and of the geography of the Holy Land. Thus we are informed that the Feast of Unleavened Bread is called the Passover; that Nazareth and Capernaum are cities of Galilee; that the country of the Gadarenes lies over against Galilee; that Arimathea is a city of the Jews; and that the village of Emmaus is about threescore furlongs from Jerusalem.³ In his genealogy Luke traces the descent of Jesus not only to Abraham, at which point Matthew stops, but to Adam, the father of the human race. There are numerous references to the Gentiles and the non-Jewish

¹ Marsh's *Michaelis*, vol. iv. p. 239, 2nd ed.

² Josephus, *Ant.* xviii. 5. 3, xix. 6. 2.

³ Davidson's *Introduction to the N.T.* vol. i. p. 186.

racés; Christ was to be a light for revelation to the Gentiles (Luke ii. 32); it was a Samaritan who is represented as having had compassion on the man who fell among thieves; and the leper, who only among those who were cleansed returned to express his gratitude, was a Samaritan. As the Gospel of Matthew was addressed chiefly to Jewish readers, so the Gospel of Luke was addressed chiefly to Gentile readers. The one may be called the Gospel of the circumcision, and the other the Gospel of the uncircumcision.

V. THE LANGUAGE OF THE GOSPEL.

The Greek of Luke, both in his Gospel and in the Acts of the Apostles, is comparatively pure. The evangelist has great mastery of the language, and is very copious in his use of words. It has often been remarked that the purity of the preface approaches classical Greek; and in the narrative itself, when he writes with freedom and independence, the style and diction are generally pure and correct. The Hebraisms are chiefly restricted to those passages where it would appear that the author uses oral tradition, or has recourse to written documents. Thus the first two chapters of the Gospel are full of Hebraic expressions. So also the second part of the Acts of the Apostles is purer than the first, because Luke there wrote from his own observation, and was less dependent on the writings of others.

There is a remarkable individuality in the style and diction of Luke. This has been carefully examined by several writers, especially by Credner and Dr. Samuel Davidson. Credner mentions sixty-five linguistic peculiarities in the writings of Luke, including both the Acts and the Gospel, whilst Dr. Davidson increases the number to 123.¹ The following are the most remarkable of these peculiarities mentioned by these critics. The frequent use of *καρδία*, answering to the Hebrew use of *בֵּית*: *οἶκος* in the sense of household or family: *νομικοί* is used six times for the customary *γραμματεῖς* as being more familiar to the Greeks;

¹ Credner's *Einleitung in das N.T.* p. 130 ff.; Davidson's *Introduction to the Study of the N.T.* vol. i. pp. 438-447, 3rd ed.

for the same reason ἐπιστάτης is used six times instead of the Hebrew ראבבί; the Sea of Galilee is called λίμνη instead of θάλασσα, as in the other Gospels; the preposition σύν is used in preference to μετά, employed by Matthew and Mark; Jerusalem is commonly written Ἱερουσαλήμ instead of Ἱερουσόλυμα, as in the other Gospels, except Matt. xxiii. 37; ἐνώπιον, *before*, occurs twenty times in Luke's Gospel, but never in Matthew or Mark; εὐαγγελίζομαι often occurs, but is only once used by Matthew, and never by Mark or John; χάρις is frequently used by Luke, but never by Matthew or Mark; when speaking of Christ, Luke often calls Him ὁ κύριος (vii. 13, 31, x. 1, xi. 39, xxii. 61),—a title which is not used by Matthew, and only twice by Mark in the disputed verses at the close of his Gospel (Mark xvi. 19, 20). A long list of words, extending over three and a half pages, is given by Dr. Davidson, used only by Luke among the Synoptists.¹ Dr. Schaff observes: "The vocabulary of Luke considerably exceeds that of the other evangelists; he has about 180 terms which occur in his Gospel alone, and nowhere else in the New Testament; while Matthew has only about 70, Mark 44, and John 50 peculiar words. Luke's Gospel has 55, and the Acts 135 ἅπαξ λεγόμενα, and among them many verbal compounds and rare technical terms."² All this shows the command which Luke had of the Greek language; thus confirming the opinion, that of all the writers of the New Testament he alone was not a Hebrew or Hellenistic Jew, but a Greek by birth.

VI. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GOSPEL.

Luke's Gospel has many peculiar characteristics. Among these may be mentioned its *completeness*. It begins with the birth of Christ, or rather with the Annunciation, follows Him through all the stages of life, and terminates with His Ascension. Luke alone gives us the account of the Annunciation, and narrates the birth of our Lord at Bethlehem

¹ Dr. Davidson's *Introduction to the Study of the N.T.* 3rd ed. vol. i. pp. 447-453.

² Schaff's *History of the Church*, vol. ii. p. 665.

differently in several respects from the narrative of Matthew. He alone tells us of the announcement of the birth of Christ to the shepherds; and he alone informs us of the presentation of the child Jesus in the temple. Whilst the other evangelists pass over in silence the thirty years of our Lord's life before the commencement of His public ministry, Luke relates an incident of His boyhood, when, at the age of twelve, He accompanied Joseph and Mary to Jerusalem, and was found among the doctors, hearing them and asking them questions (ii. 42). He alone adverts to the development of our Lord's youthful years, saying that He increased in wisdom and in stature (ii. 52). Whilst, like the other evangelists, he gives an account of our Lord's ministry in Galilee, and of His sufferings, death, and resurrection, Luke closes his Gospel with the account of the ascension (xxiv. 50).¹ And in the mention of the promise of the Father, for which the apostles were commanded to wait at Jerusalem (xxiv. 49), Luke unites his Gospel with the fulfilment of that promise as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles.

Another striking and more marked feature in Luke's Gospel is its *universality*: it is emphatically the Gospel of universal salvation, the Gospel of the Gentiles. It is not restricted to the Jews; there is a largeness, a fulness, and a breadth about this Gospel which are not so discernible in the other Gospels. The incorporation of the Gentiles into the Church of Christ is in a manner anticipated. There are many intimations that the wall of separation between Jews and Gentiles was to be broken down, and that the peculiar privileges of the Jews, as the people of God, were to be done away with; that the Gospel of Christ was to be a universal religion, and was to embrace the whole world; that in the language of St. Paul, God was the God of the Gentiles, and not of the Jews only (Rom. iii. 29, ix. 24). The angels who proclaimed the birth of the Lord to the shepherds on the plains of Bethlehem announced goodwill to men (ii. 14); the aged Simeon, in his song of thanksgiving, greeted the infant Saviour as a light for revelation to the Gentiles, as

¹ Matthew has no reference to the ascension; Mark alludes to it in the disputed passage at the close of his Gospel.

well as for the glory of the people of Israel (ii. 32). To the prediction of Isaiah announcing the preaching of the Baptist, the words are added: "And all flesh shall see the salvation of God" (iii. 6).¹ Whilst the other evangelists record the mission of the Twelve, as representing the nation of Israel, Luke alone relates the mission of the seventy disciples as representing the nations of the world (x. 1).² The distinction between the Jews and the Samaritans is abolished: no preference is given to the former; the disciples are rebuked for wishing to call down fire from heaven to destroy the inhospitable Samaritans (ix. 54); in the parable of the wounded Traveller, whilst the priest and the Levite pass by on the other side, it is a Samaritan who is represented as having compassion on him (x. 33); of the ten lepers who were cleansed, the only one who returned to give thanks was a Samaritan (xvii. 16). Our Lord Himself affirms, that "the Son of Man came to seek and to save that which was lost" (xix. 10). And His commission to His disciples was, that repentance and remission of sins should be preached unto all nations, beginning at Jerusalem (xxiv. 47). The same universality is indeed exhibited in all the Gospels, but in the Gospel of Luke it is more fully and more frequently mentioned.³ Luke's Gospel is the gospel of free salvation: the freedom of the grace of God is here proclaimed; there are no restrictions; salvation is a matter, not of works bestowed as a reward, but of grace bestowed on the penitent: the Pauline doctrine of free justification is foreshadowed; Zacchæus, the publican, was accepted by the Lord; the woman that was a sinner was graciously pardoned on her repentance; and the penitent thief received the promise of admission into paradise.

The Gospel of Luke is pre-eminently the Gospel of the

¹ This addition to the prophecy in Isa. xl. 3, 4, is taken from Isa. lii. 10.

² Seventy was, by the Jews, supposed to be the number of the nations of the world.

³ Those statements in St. Matthew's Gospel, where the Twelve are forbidden to go to the Gentiles, but to restrict themselves to the lost sheep of the house of Israel (Matt. x. 5, xv. 24), are omitted in Luke's Gospel.

humanity of Christ, exhibiting His human tenderness and love. Whilst Matthew proclaims Jesus as the Messiah of the Jews, and Mark as the Son of God, the worker of miracles, Luke dwells specially on His manhood, as the Son of Man and the Saviour of the world.¹ The manhood of Christ is described in its growth and in its limitations; the doctrine of the kenosis, that our Lord emptied Himself (ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσε, Phil. ii. 7),² is here distinctly taught. We are told that Jesus grew up as one of the children of men; He passed from infancy to youth, and from youth to manhood; there was a development of His human nature; He not only grew and waxed strong physically, but also mentally; He grew in wisdom, and in favour both with God and man (ii. 40, 52). Luke dwells upon the tender human sensibilities of His nature. He alone mentions the tears which in the hour of His triumph He shed over Jerusalem. He alone gives the account of His bloody sweat in Gethsemane, when an angel had to be sent from heaven to strengthen His human nature to endure the agony. In neither of the other two Synoptists have we such an insight into the tenderness and love of Christ; we see into His heart, a human heart which beats with love: in this respect the Gospel of Luke resembles that of John. The love, and tenderness, and mercy of our Saviour are disclosed to us. "He came to heal the broken-hearted." Most of the parables peculiar to Luke, as the Lost Piece of Money, the Prodigal Son, the Good Samaritan, exhibit the mercy and love of our God. God is represented as our Father, who rejoices in the recovery of His lost children, in the restoration of the erring, and in the deliverance of the wretched from their miseries. It is Luke alone who tells us of the penitent woman who lay at our Saviour's feet and bathed them with her tears, and who was so tenderly received by Him. It is Luke alone who relates the gracious reception of Zacchæus, who was looked down upon by his countrymen as an outcast and a sinner. And it is Luke

¹ "Das Evangelium des Menschensohnes, der Humanität Christi, der Verklärung aller Humanität," Lange.

² The doctrine of the *kenosis* is a great mystery, which has not as yet received sufficient consideration. On it we are not called upon to enter; it belongs to the sphere of dogmatics.

alone who mentions our Lord's prayer on the cross for the forgiveness of His enemies, and His gracious reply to the request of the dying thief: "To-day shalt thou be with me in paradise." In this Gospel especially we are taught in the language of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews that "we have not a high priest that cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities; but one that hath been in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin" (Heb. iv. 15). Jesus Himself is the Good Samaritan, the Shepherd who leaves the ninety and nine, and goes into the wilderness to seek the sheep that was lost.

In this Gospel *prominence is given to women*. It has not inappropriately been termed the "Gospel of womanhood." It opens with the mention of Elizabeth the mother of the Baptist, who with her husband Zacharias walked in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless (i. 6). Luke alone adverts to the pious character of the blessed Virgin, and records her song of thanksgiving. He alone mentions Anna, the aged widow of fourscore and four years, who departed not from the temple, but served God with fastings and prayers night and day (ii. 36). He, with John, mentions the sisters of Bethany; Martha, careful and troubled about many things, and Mary, sitting at the Saviour's feet and listening to His words (x. 38-41). He alone tells us of the widow of Nain, and of the compassion of the Lord (vii. 11). It is in this Gospel that we read of the penitent woman, who anointed our Lord's feet, and bathed them with her tears (vii. 36-39). It is from Luke that we learn that many pious women followed our Lord in His missionary journeys through Galilee, ministering to Him of their substance (vii. 1-3), and accompanied Him on His last journey to Jerusalem, and who, when all His male disciples forsook Him and fled, remained faithful to the last (xxiii. 49). It is Luke who records our Lord's address to the women who followed Him to the cross bewailing and lamenting Him: "Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for Me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children" (xxiii. 28).

There are in the Gospel of Luke numerous striking and instructive *contrasts*; lights and shadows are mingled

throughout the narrative. Thus, for example, the doubting Zacharias the father of the Baptist, and the humble and confiding Mary the mother of our Lord; the anxious and busy Martha, and the humble and devout Mary; the proud and self-righteous Pharisee, and the abased and penitent publican; the rich man clothed in purple and fine linen, and faring sumptuously every day, and the beggar Lazarus, full of sores, and fed with the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table; the priest and the Levite who passed by, and the Samaritan who had compassion on the wounded traveller; the ungrateful nine lepers, and the tenth, a Samaritan, who alone returned to render thanks; the elder son, who never left his father's house, and the younger son, who turned prodigal, and was restored to his father's love and confidence; Simon the self-righteous Pharisee who loved little, and gave the Lord no water to wash His feet, and the woman who was a sinner, who loved much and washed His feet with her tears; the penitent thief on the right hand, and the impenitent thief on the left.

It is from Luke's Gospel that those *spiritual songs* are taken which have been used in all ages in the worship of the Christian Church; as the Ave Maria, the song of the Annunciation (i. 28-31); the Magnificat, the song of Mary (i. 47-50); the Benedictus, the song of Zacharias (i. 68-79); the Gloria in Excelsis, the song of the Angels (ii. 14); and Nunc Dimittis, the song of Simeon (ii. 29-32). All these spiritual songs are contained in the first two chapters of Luke's Gospel; indeed, it is only in this Gospel and in the Apocalypse that spiritual songs are to be found. They are all Hebraic in their sentiment and diction, and have been rendered into Hebrew without any loss of their beauty. We have in the Gospel of Luke the last of the Hebrew Psalms and the first of the Christian hymns.

Such are the characteristics of the Gospel of Luke. It is, as Dean Farrar remarks, "the Gospel of the Greek and of the future; of catholicity of mind; the Gospel of hymns and of prayers; the Gospel of the Saviour; the Gospel of the universality and gratuitousness of salvation; the Gospel of holy toleration; the Gospel of those whom the religious world regards as heretics; the Gospel of the publican, and the

outcast, and the humble poor, and the weeping Magdalene, and the crucified malefactor; the Gospel of the lost piece of money and the lost sheep; the Gospel of the good Samaritan and of the prodigal son; the Gospel of the saintly life, of pity, of forgiveness obtained by faith, of pardon for all the world; the Gospel of grace and of the glad tidings of free salvation; the Gospel of Him who was, as we all are, the son of Adam, and who died that we all might be the sons of God.”¹

VII. THE INTEGRITY OF THE GOSPEL.

As the first two chapters of the Gospel of Matthew, especially the account of the birth and infancy of Christ, have been disputed; so, in like manner, the narrative of the miraculous conception and of the infancy of Christ in the Gospel of Luke (i. 5—ii. 52) has been called in question. The first who cast doubts on this passage was Evanson, toward the close of last century (1792), in his *Dissonance of the four generally received Evangelists*.² In this he was followed by Eichhorn³ and Baur.⁴ On the other hand, the genuineness of the passage has been defended by such rationalistic critics as Ammon, Paulus, Credner, Kuinoel, Volkmar, and Köstlin. The chief objections were its omission in the Gospel of Marcion, and its supposed irreconcilability with the narrative of the birth and infancy of Christ as given by Matthew. These objections are of no force. The genuineness of the passage is demonstrated beyond dispute by its presence in all the Greek manuscripts and in all versions of the New Testament, and by the repeated references to it in the writings of the early Fathers. It is true that the section was wanting in Marcion's Gospel; but, as we have seen, Marcion mutilated and abbreviated the Gospel of Luke to suit his own pre-conceived dogmatic opinions. We have already discussed the differences between the accounts of the infancy given by

¹ Farrar's *Messages of the Books*, p. 86.

² This work was answered by Priestley, *Letters to a Young Man*, 1793, and by the Rev. Thomas Falconer in the *Bampton Lectures* for 1811.

³ *Einleitung in das N.T.* vol. i. p. 630.

⁴ Baur's *Markusevangelium*, p. 218.

Matthew and Luke, and shown that these differences are capable of reconciliation, and do not amount to a discrepancy in the accounts themselves.¹ As already remarked, Luke might have obtained his information, either from Mary herself, whom it is not improbable he may have met in Jerusalem, or from James the Lord's brother, whom he certainly did meet (Acts xxi. 18), or from the other brethren of the Lord.

An important difference in reading is found in the *Gloria in Excelsis* (Luke ii. 14): δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία (εὐδοκίας).² The difference arises from the addition of one letter—εὐδοκίας instead of εὐδοκία. The Revised Version adopts the reading εὐδοκίας, and translates: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace among men in whom He is well pleased"; with the footnote: "Many ancient authorities read 'Peace, good pleasure among men'; and instead of 'Men in whom He is well pleased,' a footnote gives the alternative rendering, 'Men of good pleasure.'"

The reading εὐδοκίας of the Revised Version is supported by the principal ancient manuscripts \aleph A B D: C (the Codex Ephraem) is defective. The combined testimony of such valuable and independent manuscripts as the Vatican and the Alexandrian is very strong. Among the versions the old Latin and the Vulgate also have this reading; the Vulgate renders the clause *in hominibus bonæ voluntatis*. The Latin Fathers adopt the reading of their own version; whilst among the Greek Fathers, Origen alone is favourable, although he also uses εὐδοκία.

On the other hand, the rest of the uncials and all the cursives are in favour of εὐδοκία, the reading of the Authorised Version; such also is the reading of the Syriac, Armenian, and Ethiopic versions; the Greek Fathers may be considered as unanimous in their testimony; even Origen, in his work against Celsus, adopts this reading: "At the birth of Jesus a multitude of the heavenly host praised God, saying:

¹ See *supra*, pp. 115 ff.

² This hardly belongs to the discussion on the integrity of the Gospel, but is here given on account of the interest attached to this reading.

Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, goodwill towards men.”¹

But whilst the external evidence, owing to the combined testimony of the most important of the uncial manuscripts, is in favour of the reading *εὐδοκίας*, the internal evidence is in favour of *εὐδοκία*. The expression *ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας* is certainly the more difficult reading, and this is so far in its favour; yet it is very obscure, and so difficult of translation, that a reasonable sense can hardly be made out of it; literally rendered it is “among men of good pleasure.” The Revisers render it “among men in whom He is well pleased”; others, “to the men of goodwill,”; others “to men who are the object of goodwill”; and others, “peace on earth to those who will have it.” Origen, in those places where he adopts the reading *εὐδοκίας*, unites the word with *εἰρήνη*, and renders the whole passage: “Glory to God in the highest, and on earth the peace of good pleasure to men,”—a meaning which, Dr. Hort says, “would deserve serious attention, if no better interpretation were available.”² In short, as Scrivener observes of these and such like interpretations, they “can be arrived at only through some process which would make any phrase bear almost any meaning which the translator might like to put upon it.”³ Such a reading also narrows the expression “goodwill” to a certain class of men, instead of making it embrace the whole human race, as is naturally suggested by the preceding words, “on earth peace.” On the other hand, the reading *εὐδοκία* gives a plain and intelligible sense—goodwill to men: the goodwill being the goodwill of God—His mercy and good pleasure. This also better preserves the parallelism of the passage, divided into three sentences: “Glory to God in the highest; on earth peace; goodwill toward men.” According to the other rendering, the parallelism consists of only two members: “Glory to God in the highest; on earth peace to men of goodwill.” Others render it: “Glory to God in the highest and on earth; peace to men of goodwill.”

¹ *Contra Celsum*, i. 60.

² Westcott and Hort's *Greek New Testament*, Select Readings, vol. ii. p. 56.

³ Scrivener's *Biblical Criticism*, vol. ii. 4th ed. p. 347.

The rendering *εὐδοκίας* is adopted by the principal biblical critics — Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Alford, Meyer, Westcott and Hort; whilst Scrivener, Burgon, and Cook give the preference to *εὐδοκία*.

Another important passage where there is a remarkable difference in the reading, is Luke's version of the Lord's Prayer (xi. 2-4). In many authorities the prayer is given in an abbreviated form, and this is the reading adopted in the Revised Version: "Father, Hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come. Give us day by day our daily bread. And forgive us our sins; for we ourselves also forgive everyone that is indebted to us. And bring us not into temptation." The reading of the Authorised Version is relegated to the footnotes.

The reading here adopted by the Revisers is that of the Vatican and the Sinaitic;¹ whilst the Alexandrian has the reading of the Authorised Version. The other manuscripts vary; some agree with the Vatican and others with the Alexandrian; and some, omitting one or two clauses, give the prayer in a partially abbreviated form. The same is the case with the different versions; for example, the Vulgate omits the words: "And deliver us from evil." It is argued that the internal evidence is in favour of the abbreviated form, because transcribers would be induced to supply the omitted petitions from the Gospel of Matthew. At the same time, in this form the prayer certainly appears to want completeness. The occasions when the prayer was delivered were, according to the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, very different. In Matthew it occupies part of the Sermon on the Mount, and stands in close connection with what precedes, being attached to our Lord's injunction against hypocrisy in our prayers; whilst in Luke it is given in answer to the request of the disciples: "Lord, teach us to

¹ The following is the reading of the Vatican: *Πάτερ, ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομα σου ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου τὸν ἄσπον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον ἴδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν καὶ ἄφεῖς ἡμῖν τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν. καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀξιόμεν παντὶ ὀφείλοντι ἡμῖν καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκης ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμον.* With this the Sinaitic agrees, except that it has the clause: "Thy will be done as in heaven, so on earth."

pray, even as John also taught his disciples." There is no improbability in supposing that our Lord delivered this prayer to His disciples on two different occasions.

Perhaps a still more important passage is the incident of the bloody sweat in Gethsemane, omitted by the other evangelists and given only by Luke: "And there appeared unto Him an angel from heaven, strengthening Him. And, being in an agony, He prayed more earnestly: and His sweat became as it were great drops of blood falling down upon the ground" (xxii. 43, 44). We shall consider the evidence against and for its genuineness.

// 1. *Evidence against the genuineness of the passage.*—These verses are omitted in the two important manuscripts, the Alexandrian (A) and the Vatican (B), manuscripts not only among the oldest extant, but wholly independent of each other; in two other important uncial manuscripts (R T), and in three cursive manuscripts (13, 124, 561); whilst the important manuscript, the Codex Ephræm (C), is here defective. They are marked with an asterisk in four uncial and six cursive manuscripts, implying a doubt as to their genuineness. They are omitted in the important Codex Brixianus (f) of the Old Latin and in some of the codices of the Sahidic and Armenian versions, and in the lately discovered Sinaitic Syrian version. There is no reference to the words in the writings of Clemens Alexandrinus and Origen, although these Fathers would naturally have quoted them in their controversies against Docetism. Hilary states: "In very many Greek and Latin copies,¹ nothing was written either about the appearance of an angel or the bloody sweat." And the same remark is made by Jerome.

2. *Evidence for the genuineness of the passage.*—One great argument in favour of these words is that they are contained in the Codex Sinaiticus (s), thus differing in this reading from the Codex Vaticanus, with which it in general agrees. They are also found in the celebrated Codex Bezae (D) of the fifth century, and in ten other important uncial manuscripts, and in almost all the cursive manuscripts. The Versions are almost unanimously in favour of their

¹ In Græcis et in Latinis codicibus complurimis.

genuineness. They are found in the Old Latin, with the exception of the Codex Brixianus (f); in the three Syriac versions, the Curetonian, the Peshito, and the Philoxenian; in the Vulgate and the Ethiopic and Armenian versions. But the chief argument in favour of their genuineness is that they are recognised in the writings of the early Fathers. Justin Martyr, in his dialogue with Trypho the Jew, thus refers to the passage: "In the Memoirs which I have said were drawn up by His apostles and those who followed them, it is recorded that His sweat fell down like drops of blood while He was praying and saying, If it is possible let this cup pass."¹ Tatian incorporates it in his Diatessaron. Irenæus states that Jesus sweat great drops of blood, and declared that His soul was exceedingly sorrowful.² And Hippolytus, referring to the humanity of Christ, in opposition to Noetus, says: "Though God, He does not refuse the conditions proper to Him as man, since He hungers and toils and thirsts in weariness, and flies in fear, and prays in trouble. He who as God has a sleepless nature, slumbers on a pillow; He who (for our salvation) came into the world, begs off from the cup of suffering; and in an agony He sweats blood and is strengthened by an angel, who Himself strengthens those who believe on Him."³ The passage is also quoted by Gregory of Nazianzus, Epiphanius, Ephraem Syrus, Chrysostom, Augustine, and subsequent Fathers. It is also said to be found in Marcion's Gospel. Epiphanius accounts for its omission from some manuscripts by the indiscreet zeal of the orthodox, who omitted it because they thought that it might be perverted by heretics, and used by them in arguing against the divinity of our Lord: "orthodox persons removed it through fear, not understanding its bearing and its great force." But there does not appear to be any ground for this statement.

The passage has also been objected to on internal grounds. Thus Norton observes that the agony of Christ is represented as existing after the angel had been sent to strengthen Him; that we have no authority for believing

¹ Justin, *Dialog. cum Trypho*, ch. ciii.

² *Adv. Har.* iii. 22. 2.

³ Hippolytus, *Adv. Har. Noeti*, ch. xviii.

that the bloody sweat described was ever produced by mere distress of mind; and that as the disciples were asleep, it does not appear how anyone could have witnessed or become acquainted with the events related. He supposes that the passage was first written in the margin of some very early manuscript, and subsequently, through the mistake of transcribers, taken into the text of other copies.¹ To the above objection it has been replied that the angel was sent, not to remove the agony, but to strengthen our Lord to endure it: and although it is said that the disciples were asleep, yet they were not so profoundly asleep but that they heard our Lord praying that the cup might pass from Him, and might have seen the bloody sweat, or the marks of it might have been apparent after its termination. The question is entirely one of external authority, and cannot be decided by subjective impressions.

With regard to the nature of the bloody sweat, it is not said that our Lord actually sweat great drops of blood, but that His perspiration fell from Him as it were great drops of blood, bearing a resemblance to them (ὁ ἰδρὼς αὐτοῦ ὥσεὶ θρόμβοι αἵματος). The word *θρόμβος* is strikingly descriptive; it denotes, not simply a drop, but a great drop, such as a clot of blood. Probably Meyer gives the correct interpretation: "The sweat of Jesus was indeed no mass of blood (opposed to which is ὥσεὶ), but a profusion of bloody sweat, which was mingled with portions of blood, and as it flowed down appeared as clots of blood trickling down to the ground."² It is not correct to say, with Norton, that we have no authority for believing that a bloody sweat was ever produced by mere distress of mind. Instances of a bloody sweat, produced under circumstances of terror, have been recorded (Aristotle's *Hist. Anim.* iii. 19). "An interesting example," observes Alford, "of a sweat of blood under circumstances of strong terror, accompanied by loss of speech, is cited in the *Medical Gazette* for December 1848."³

Such are the arguments against and for the genuineness of the passage containing the account of "the agony and

¹ Norton, *The Genuineness of the Gospels*, pp. 228, 229.

² *Commentary on Luke*, *in loco*.

³ Alford's *Greek Testament*, *in loco*.

bloody sweat." It is difficult to balance these arguments, and to come to a correct decision. The evidence from the Greek manuscripts appears to be rather at variance with the idea of its genuineness, especially when we consider that the combined testimony of the Alexandrian and Vatican manuscripts is unfavourable, though the force of this is to a considerable extent weakened by the passages being found in the Codex Sinaiticus. Its insertion in the Codex Bezae is not conclusive, as it might be accounted for from the nature of that manuscript, which contains many unauthorised additions. But, on the other hand, this adverse testimony is counterbalanced by the distinct recognition of the passage by such early Fathers as Justin, Tatian, Irenæus, and Hippolytus. We judge then that the preponderance of evidence is in favour of the retention of the passage; still we cannot venture to say with Canon Cook, in words which are quoted with approval by Scrivener: "Supporting the whole passage we have an array of authorities which, whether we regard their antiquity or their character for sound judgment, veracity, and accuracy, are scarcely paralleled on any occasion."¹

The most eminent biblical critics are mostly in favour of the genuineness of the passage. It is accepted by Tischendorf, Alford, Tregelles, Meyer, and Scrivener; it is enclosed within brackets by Lachmann; whilst Westcott and Hort express their doubts by placing it within double brackets. The Revised Version inserts it in the text without any mark, but adds the footnote: "Many ancient authorities omit vv. 43, 44."

VIII. TIME AND PLACE OF WRITING.

The time when this Gospel was written has been much disputed. Dates ranging from A.D. 58 to A.D. 130 have been assigned to it. Baur fixed on A.D. 130, a date now universally relinquished; Dr. Davidson, in his last edition of his *Introduction to the Study of the New Testament*, fixed on A.D. 110;

¹ Cook's *Revised Version of the first three Gospels*, p. 103; Scrivener's *Criticism of the New Testament*, 4th ed. vol. ii. p. 356.

Pfleiderer, on A.D. 100–120; Hilgenfeld, on A.D. 100–110; Volkmar, on A.D. 100; Keim and Abbott, on A.D. 80; Credner, De Wette, Bleek, Meyer, Holtzmann, Reuss, and Professor Sanday, after the destruction of Jerusalem; Michaelis, Lardner, Horne, Guericke, Ebrard, and Godet, on A.D. 63 or 64. Dr. Davidson, in his earlier *Introduction to the New Testament*, on A.D. 61; Alford, Archbishop Thomson, and Schaff, on A.D. 58–60.

Very little light is thrown on this subject from the writings of the early Fathers: their statements are at variance. But, on the other hand, an argument may be based on the probable date of the Acts of the Apostles. The Gospel of Luke is undoubtedly “the former treatise” to which the author of the Acts in his preface alludes: “The former treatise I made, O Theophilus, concerning all that Jesus began both to do and to teach.” The Gospel, then, must have been written before the Acts. Now, the date of the Acts may, with much probability, be ascertained. The history is carried on until the close of Paul’s two years’ imprisonment at Rome (A.D. 63), ending with the words: “And he abode two whole years in his own hired house” (Acts xxviii. 30). The most probable reason why Luke thus closes his history is, that he then completed it; otherwise the work would end most abruptly, without any statement of what happened after the termination of the two years. Nor is there any presumption against this opinion. Now, admitting this, we infer that the Gospel was composed before A.D. 63. In all probability, as already observed, Luke was with Paul during his two years’ imprisonment in Cæsarea (A.D. 58–60). Here he had ample opportunities for collecting the materials for his history: he met with those who had been the followers of the Lord; he could make a collection of the written Gospel fragments which were dispersed throughout the Churches; he could visit these parts of Galilee where our Lord’s ministry was chiefly spent; he could go up frequently to Jerusalem; he would have ample time at his disposal; and he had free access to Paul, who, although a prisoner, was not kept in strict confinement, for we are informed that Felix gave order to the centurion that

he should have indulgence, and that none of his friends should be forbidden to minister to him (Acts xxiv. 23). From all this we consider that the Gospel of Luke was written about A.D. 60, toward the conclusion of Paul's imprisonment at Cæsarea.

It has been objected to this early date that there are, in the Gospel itself, statements which show that it must have been written after the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70).¹ In the Gospel of Matthew, it is affirmed, the destruction of Jerusalem is closely connected with the end of the world. "Immediately after the tribulation of those days" shall the final catastrophe take place (Matt. xxiv. 29); whereas, in the Gospel of Luke, a long period is interposed, termed "the times of the Gentiles": "Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled" (Luke xxi. 24); and it is stated that the end is not immediately (Luke xxi. 9). In Luke's Gospel the author takes a retrospect of the circumstances of the siege. "The days shall come upon thee, when thine enemies shall cast up a bank about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall dash thee to the ground, and thy children within thee; and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another, because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation" (Luke xix. 43, 44). But we cannot see the force of this objection. The slight variations in the accounts of our Lord's predictions of the destruction of Jerusalem in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke are needlessly strained. In Matthew, as in Luke, there is an interval between the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the world; the Gospel must first be diffused throughout the earth. "This gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world for a testimony unto all nations; and then shall the end come" (Matt. xxiv. 14). In Matthew the encompassing of Jerusalem with armies is as distinctly foretold as in Luke: the abomination of desolation was to be seen standing in the holy place (Matt. xxiv. 15). And in both Matthew and Luke the statement is made, that this generation shall not

¹ This opinion was held by Meyer, De Wette, Credner, Bleek, and Dr. Davidson.

pass away until all these things be accomplished (Matt. xxiv. 34; Luke xxi. 32). To suppose that Luke changed the prophecy of our Lord by inserting words which intimated that the prediction was fulfilled, and thus converted it into a *vaticinium post eventum*, is inconsistent with the honesty of the historian, and at variance with the supernatural foresight of our Lord.

If, then, the date of the Gospel was A.D. 60, or thereby, the place of writing was Cæsarea, an opinion adopted by Michaelis, Kuinoel, Schott, Thiersch, and others. Other places have been assigned. The title in the Peshito version is: "The Gospel of Luke the evangelist, which he published and preached in Greek in Alexandria the Great." Jerome fixes on Achæa and Bœotia; Godet on Greece; Hug, Ewald, Zeller, Keim, and Holtzmann on Rome.

IX. THE CONTENTS OF THE GOSPEL.

The general divisions of the Gospel are the Introduction, i. 1-4.

1. Narrative of the birth and childhood of the Baptist and of Jesus, i. 5-ii. 53.

2. Preparation for the ministry, iii., iv. 13.

3. Our Lord's ministry in Galilee, iv. 14-ix. 50.

4. Our Lord's ministry in Peræa and its neighbourhood, ix. 51-xviii. 14.

5. The journey to Jerusalem, xviii. 15-xix. 48.

6. The closing scenes and death, xx.-xxiii. 49.

7. The burial, resurrection, and ascension, xxiii. 50-xxiv.

The Gospel of Luke is rich in most important additions. We have already, in a former part of this Introduction, enumerated the incidents and discourses which are peculiar to it;¹ still we may recapitulate the most striking and remarkable: the annunciation and the song of the Virgin; the birth of John the Baptist and the prophecy of his father Zacharias; the angel's message to the shepherds; the presentation in the temple and the song of Simeon; the

¹ See *supra*, p. 33 f.

raising of the widow's son at Nain; the anointing of our Lord by the woman who was a sinner; the memorable and striking parables of the Good Samaritan, the Unjust Steward, the Prodigal Son and the Rich Man and Lazarus, our Lord's reception of Martha and Mary, our Lord's examination before Herod, and His appearance after the resurrection to the disciples going to Emmaus. All these passages enhance the value of the Gospel of Luke.

There are twelve important parables peculiar to Luke—

1. The Two Debtors, vii. 41–43.
2. The Good Samaritan, x. 25–37.
3. The Rich Man who boasted of his goods, xii. 13–21.
4. The Barren Fig Tree, xiii. 1–9.
5. The Marriage Feast, xiv. 7–24.
6. The Lost Piece of Money, xv. 8–10.
7. The Prodigal Son, xv. 11–32.
8. The Unjust Steward, xvi. 1–13.
9. The Rich Man and Lazarus, xvi. 19–31.
10. The Unjust Judge and the Importunate Widow, xviii. 1–8.
11. The Pharisee and the Publican, xviii. 9–14.
12. The Ten Pounds, xix. 12–27.

There are six miracles peculiar to Luke—

1. The miraculous draught of fishes, v. 1–11.
2. The raising of the widow's son at Nain, vii. 11–17.
3. The cure of the woman with the spirit of infirmity, xiii. 11–17.
4. The cure of the dropsical man on the Sabbath, xiv. 1–6.
5. The cleansing of the ten lepers, xvii. 11–19.
6. The healing of Malchus, xxii. 50, 51.

DISSERTATION I.

THE GENEALOGIES.

LITERATURE.—This subject has been often discussed in separate monographs, as well as in works on the Life of Christ, and in commentaries on the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. The most important discussions are Hottinger, *Dissertationes duæ de genealogia Christi*; Benham's *Reflections on the Genealogy of our Lord*; Yardley, *The Genealogy of Jesus Christ* (London, 1739); Lord A. Hervey (Bishop of Bath), *The Genealogies of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* (Cambridge, 1853), and his article on Genealogy in Smith's *Biblical Dictionary*; Ebrard's *Gospel History*, pp. 149–163 (Edinburgh, 1863); Mill's *Vindication of the Genealogies*; a valuable article on Genealogy, by the Rev. Peter Holmes, in Kitto's *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh, 1869); Wieseler's *Beiträge zur Wurdigung der Evangelien*, 1869; Andrews, *Life of our Lord*, pp. 56–70, new edition (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1893), where the subject is well stated; Greswell's *Dissertations on the Harmony of the Gospels*; Dissertation ii. On the two genealogies, vol. ii. pp. 111–118; also the commentaries of Meyer on Matthew and Luke; Farrar on Luke in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools*; Godet on Luke (translation, Edinburgh, 1875); Morison on Matthew (London, 1883); Mansel on Matthew in *Speaker's Commentary*; and Schaff's *Popular Commentary on the New Testament*.

The reconciliation of the genealogies given in Matt. i. 1–17 and Luke iii. 23–38 is a matter of considerable difficulty. Both profess to be the genealogies of our Lord; that of Matthew is introduced by the words: "The book of the generation of

Jesus Christ"; whilst in the Gospel of Luke the introductory words are: "Jesus Himself, when He began to teach, was about thirty years of age, being the son (as was supposed) of Joseph"; but they are almost entirely different, being written from different points of view. In Matthew the genealogy commences with Abraham, the father of the Jewish nation, probably because his Gospel was written mainly for Hebrew Christians; whilst in Luke it closes with Adam, the father of the human race, probably because his Gospel was written for Christians generally, whether Jews or Gentiles. The genealogy of Matthew descends from Abraham to Joseph, the husband of Mary, by tracing the line of descent from father to son; whilst that of Luke ascends from Joseph to Adam, by tracing the line of ascent from son to father. Matthew uses the word *begat* (ἐγέννησε), whilst Luke uses the article τοῦ, the genitive of relationship, translated in our version *the son of*. From Abraham to David the evangelists give the same genealogical series; but after David they diverge. Matthew gives the royal lineage in the line of Solomon to the captivity, whilst Luke gives the genealogy in the line of Nathan, another of the sons of David. The genealogies meet in the middle in the persons of Shealtiel and Zerubbabel (Matt. i. 12; Luke iii. 27), but again immediately diverge, until they converge in Joseph, the husband of Mary.

Various opinions have been formed of these genealogies with reference to their diversities and apparent contradictions. Dean Alford supposes that a solution of the difficulties is impossible from want of sufficient data. "It is," he observes, "quite beside the purpose of the present commentary to attempt to reconcile the two. It has never yet been accomplished; and every endeavour to do it has violated either ingenuousness or common sense."¹ On the other hand, Professor Norton and others affirm that the genealogies, and more particularly that given by Matthew, are interpolations. The first two chapters of Matthew's Gospel, observes Professor Norton, "may have been an ancient document, written in Hebrew, originally a separate work, but which, on account of its small size and the connection of its subject, was transcribed

¹ Alford's *Greek Testament*, p. 473, last edition.

into manuscripts of the Hebrew original of Matthew.”¹ The external evidences for the exclusion of the genealogies are weak, amounting only to this, that they are omitted in the Gospel of Marcion and in the Diatessaron of Tatian;² whilst they are contained in all Greek manuscripts and versions. But the internal evidence is rather in favour of their exclusion. They may be omitted without any interruption in the narrative. Thus the Gospel of Matthew would commence with the words: “Now the birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise” (Matt. i. 18); whilst in Luke the temptation of Christ would be directly connected, as in the other Gospels, with His baptism and the descent of the Holy Ghost (Luke iii. 22, iv. 1). Besides, the apparent or real inaccuracies in the genealogy as given by Matthew, to which we shall afterwards advert, are presumptions unfavourable to its genuineness. Still the external evidence in favour of them is so strong that, by the critical rules which must govern our judgment, their insertion, as forming an original part of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, must be admitted.

This may be the place to advert to the important recent discovery by Mrs. Lewis, in the monastery of Mount Sinai, of a Syrian manuscript of the four Gospels. Chiefly by her learning and indefatigable labour this Syrian version has been transcribed and published along with a translation.³ The manuscript is a palimpsest, the lives of female saints being written over it. Mrs. Lewis twice visited the monastery of Mount Sinai in 1892 and 1893, and, assisted by several eminent English scholars, was enabled to obtain a transcription of the manuscript. It is affirmed to be probably a variant copy of the Curetonian Syriac, fragments of which were brought to this country by Archdeacon Tattam in 1842,⁴ and which is now

¹ Norton, *The Genuineness of the Gospels*, vol. i. p. 204.

² The omission of the genealogies in the Gospel of Marcion is of no importance, as Marcion mutilated the Gospel of Luke; but it must be admitted that the omission in Tatian's Diatessaron is of some weight, but it is unsupported.

³ *The Four Gospels in Syriac. Transcribed from the Sinaitic Palimpsest.* Cambridge, 1894: *Translation of the Four Gospels from the Syriac of the Sinaitic Palimpsest*, by Agnes Smith Lewis. London, 1894.

⁴ It was not published until 1858, under the title, “Remains of a very

generally admitted to be the oldest Syriac version, of which the Peshito is only a recension, bearing the same relation to it as the Vulgate does to the old Latin.¹ If this is the case, this newly discovered manuscript must be regarded as of great importance, as supplying most of the lacunæ in the Curetonian version,² and nearly completing it. The recently discovered manuscript is of uncertain date. It agrees generally with the oldest uncials, the Vatican, and the Sinaitic; as, for example, it wants the concluding verses of Mark's Gospel and the account of the bloody sweat in Luke.

It has been suggested that this Syriac manuscript has an important bearing on the question of the genealogies, especially in regard to the genealogy in Matthew.³ In its record of the birth of Christ the new manuscript is Ebionite and heretical. Whilst it testifies to the supernatural nature of His birth in the same terms as in Matt. i. 18 and 23 of the received text, at the same time it inconsistently asserts that He was the son of Joseph. Thus ver. 16 is: "Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the virgin, begat Jesus, who is called the Christ"; ver. 21 is: "And she shall bear to thee a son, and thou shalt call His name Jesus"; and in ver. 24 it is said: "When Joseph arose from his sleep he did as the angel of the Lord commanded him, and took his wife: and she bore to him a son, and he called His name Jesus."

The genealogy in Luke is imperfect in the new manuscript, and it is difficult to say how far it agrees with or differs from the genealogy in the received text.

ancient recension of the Four Gospels in Syriac, hitherto unknown in Europe, discovered, edited, and translated by William Cureton, D.D., Canon of Westminster. London, 1858."

¹ So Ewald, Bleek, Alford, Tregelles, Hort. Scrivener, however, takes an opposite view (*Introduction to the Criticism of the N.T.* vol. ii. p. 16 ff.).

² The fragments of the Curetonian Syriac brought to England by Archdeacon Tattam contained Matt. i.-viii. 22, x. 32-xxiii. 25; Mark xvi. 17-20; Luke ii. 48-iii. 16, vii. 33-xvi. 12, xvii. 1-xxiv. 44; John i. 1-42, iii. 5-viii. 19, xiv. 10-12, 15-19, 21-23, 26-29.

³ See a series of letters in the *Academy* from November 1894 to March 1895; and an important article on the subject by Archdeacon, now Dean, Farrar in the *Expositor* for January 1895.

The importance of the manuscript on this point has, we consider, been greatly overestimated. There is no ground for suggesting that the genealogy in the new manuscript can be substituted for that contained in Matthew's Gospel.¹ Its peculiar Ebionite readings stand alone, and are supported by no manuscript nor version. Even the Curetonian Syriac is adverse, as it contains the received readings. The only manuscript which appears to favour them is the Latin Codex Bobbiensis; but even it only to the extent of omitting the words: "And knew her not till she brought forth her son." Against this overwhelming mass of evidence it is impossible to defend the peculiar readings found in this manuscript; they never could have formed a part of the original text. The genealogy of Matthew may have been a separate document incorporated into this Gospel, but it could not in its original form have contained the readings found in the Sinaitic Syriac version.

The divergences in the genealogies may be seen from the following table:—

I. ADAM TO ABRAHAM.

Not given in Matthew. Luke iii. 34-38.

II. ABRAHAM TO DAVID.

Same in both Gospels—Matt. i. 1-6; Luke iii. 32-34.

III. DAVID TO JESUS CHRIST.

MATT. I. 7-16.	LUKE III. 23-31.
Solomon by the wife of Uriah.	Nathan.
Rehoboam.	Mattatha.
Abijah.	Menna.
Asa.	Melea.
Jehoshaphat.	Eliakim.
Joram.	Jonam.

¹ The Rev. Mr. Charles, in one of his letters to the *Academy* (Dec. 1, 1894), expresses his opinion that the new manuscript furnishes the key to the problem raised by the variations in the two genealogies. If we understand him aright, he seems to think that the genealogy of Matthew as given in the new manuscript was the form of the original document, and that at a very early period it was altered in the interests of orthodoxy and attached to our canonical Gospel.

MATT. I. 7-16.

Uzziah.
 Jotham.
 Ahaz.
 Hezekiah.
 Manasseh.
 Amon.
 Josiah
 Jechoniah and his brethren.

Shealtiel.
 Zerubbabel.
 Abiud.
 Eliakim.
 Azor.
 Sadoc.
 Achim.
 Eliud.
 Eleazar.
 Matthau.
 Jacob.
 Joseph the husband of Mary.
 Jesus, who is called Christ.

LUKE III. 23-31.

Joseph.
 Judas.
 Symeon.
 Levi.
 Matthat.
 Jorim.
 Eliezer.
 Jesus.
 Er.
 Elmadam.
 Cosam.
 Addi.
 Melchi.
 Neri.
 Shealtiel.
 Zerubbabel.
 Rhesa.
 Joanan.
 Joda.
 Josech.
 Semein.
 Mattathias.
 Maath.
 Naggai.
 Esli.
 Nahum.
 Amos.
 Mattathias.
 Joseph.
 Jannai.
 Melchi.
 Levi.
 Matthat.
 Heli.
 Joseph.
 Jesus.

Before attempting the reconciliation of the genealogies, it may be advisable to consider some peculiarities and apparent mistakes or discrepancies in the genealogy given by Matthew.

The genealogy from Salmon to David is given as Salmon, Boaz, Obed, Jesse, David (Matt. i. 5), and the lineage is the same in Luke's genealogy (Luke iii. 32). Thus there are only four generations, Boaz, Obed, Jesse, and David, between

Salmon and David. Nahshon, the father of Salmon, is mentioned as the prince of the tribe of Judah in the time of Moses (Num. i. 7, vii. 17); and, accordingly, Salmon, the husband of Rahab, must have been a contemporary of Joshua. But the interval between Salmon and David, filled up by these four generations, according to the calculations made from the Book of Judges, must have been 400 or 450 years. This period is also given by St. Paul in his speech in Pisidian Antioch: "And when He had destroyed seven nations in the land of Canaan, He gave them their land for an inheritance for about 450 years" (Acts xiii. 19). It also corresponds with the chronology of Josephus. Either the period assigned is too long, or several names must have been omitted. The probability is that the number 450 was assumed by the Jews by adding together the years of the judges and of the servitudes as mentioned in the Book of Judges;¹ whereas it is probable that several of the judges were contemporaneous.² The community of Israel appears at that time to have been divided into three confederacies: Judah and the south, Ephraim and the north, and the land of Gilead beyond Jordan. The enumeration of four generations given by Matthew is corroborated not only by Luke, but also by the Book of Ruth (Ruth iv. 20, 21) and by the first Book of Chronicles (1 Chron. ii. 11, 12).³

In Matthew's genealogy three kings are omitted. It is stated that Joram begat Uzziah (Matt. i. 8); whereas the genealogy ought to have been Joram begat Ahaziah, and

¹ Hervey, *On the Genealogies*, pp. 220, 221, 252. The years of the judges from Othniel to Eli are 339, and of the servitudes 111: in all 450. See Biscoe, *On the Acts*, p. 605.

² This subject is very elaborately discussed by Bishop Hervey in ch. ix. on the discordance between the genealogy from Salmon to David, and the received chronology of the corresponding period, pp. 204-276. He supposes that Ehud, Gideon, and Jephthah were contemporary, and that the era of the judges, instead of lasting 450 years, extended only to four generations. This abbreviation of the time corresponds with the records of Egyptian history.

³ Another solution is that in the genealogy from Salmon to David some names are omitted; and others think that Rahab, the mother of Boaz, was a different person from the Rahab mentioned in the Book of Joshua.

Abaziah begat Joash, and Joash begat Amaziah, and Amaziah begat Uzziah. Thus three kings are omitted, namely, Abaziah, Joash, and Amaziah. The most plausible explanation of this omission is that it arose from a mistake of the transcriber. The first name omitted is Abaziah, in Greek *῾Οχοζίας*, which is identical in the last three syllables with *῾Οζίας*, the next name mentioned; and it is supposed that the transcriber, his eye catching the conclusion of the word, overlooked the first syllable, *῾Οχ*, and the intervening names, and so wrote *῾Οζίας* as following Joram.¹ But the authority of all manuscripts is against this supposition, except perhaps the Codex Bezae. In that codex the first chapter of Matthew, containing the genealogy, is wanting; but the genealogical list of Matthew from David to Joseph is incorporated in the third chapter of Luke with the names of the three omitted kings inserted. The omission of these names does not, of course, affect the validity of the genealogy: it is not necessary that all the links should be named.

Another king is omitted, namely, Jehoiakim. It is said: "Josiah begat Jechoniah and his brethren, at the time of the carrying away to Babylon. And after the carrying away to Babylon, Jechoniah begat Shealtiel" (Matt. i. 11, 12); whereas in reality Josiah was the father of Jehoiakim, and Jehoiakim the father of Jechoniah or Jehoiachin. Bishop Hervey supposes that the reading in Matthew originally was: *῾Ιωσίας δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν ῾Ιωακείμ καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ. ῾Ιωακείμ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν ῾Ιωαχέμ ἐπὶ τῆς μετοικεσίας Βαβυλῶνος. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μετοικεσίαν Βαβυλῶνος ῾Ιωαχέμ ἐγέννησε τὸν Σαλαθιῆλ*. According to him, the mistake arose from the similarity of names, the transcriber having written *χ* in the first name instead of *κ*.² This reading is supported by the Codex Bezae, by two uncial manuscripts of the tenth century, M U, by thirty cursive manuscripts, by

¹ The insertion of the names of these three kings would render the number fourteen in the second division of names erroneous; and hence the common opinion is that of Jerome, that the omission was for the sake of obtaining the number fourteen in the threefold classification of the genealogies.

² Hervey, *Genealogies*, p. 73.

several Syriac manuscripts, and by Irenæus, who says: "Joseph is shown to be the son of Joachim and Jechoniah, as also Matthew sets forth in his pedigree."¹ It is inserted by Henry Stephens in his editions of the Greek Testament, published in 1576 and 1584. And in a marginal note in the Authorised Version it is said: "Some read Josias begat Jakim, and Jakim begat Jechonias." But such a reading cannot be admitted, on account of the preponderating weight of contrary testimony. Dr. Morison supposes that the Jechoniah in ver. 11 is different from the Jechoniah in ver. 12, and that the name was common to both father and son. In ver. 11 by Jechoniah is meant Jechoniah I. or Jehoiakim the son of Josiah, and in ver. 12 by Jechoniah is meant Jechoniah II. or Jehoiachin the son of Jehoiakim.²

There is also a difficulty in the classification of Matthew's genealogies. "So all the generations, from Abraham unto David, are fourteen generations; and from David, unto the carrying away to Babylon, are fourteen generations; and from the carrying away to Babylon unto the Christ, are fourteen generations" (Matt. i. 17). The genealogy is arranged in three divisions, each containing fourteen generations. The first division, from Abraham to David, is the same as the list given by Luke, and contains exactly fourteen generations. The second division, from Solomon to the Babylonish captivity, also contains fourteen names; but if the four kings omitted were included, the number would be eighteen. In the third division, from the Babylonish captivity to Christ, Jechoniah must be again included to complete the number.³ The periods are of very unequal length. The first series, from Abraham to David, includes a period of upwards of 900 years; the second series, from Solomon to the Captivity, including the reign of the four kings omitted, is 416 years; and the third series, from the Captivity to Christ, is 617

¹ *Adv. Hær.* iii. 21. 9.

² Morison's *Commentary on Matthew*, on Matt. i. 11.

³ On the arrangement of the names in these three divisions, and the necessity of including Jechoniah both in the second and third divisions, see Meyer on *Matthew*, vol. i. pp. 58, 59. If Jechoniah be reckoned only once, we have only thirteen generations in the last series.

years. It is also to be observed that supposing Shealtiel and Zerubbabel to be the same persons in both genealogies, the number of generations given in Matthew differs from that given in Luke. In Matthew the number from Solomon to Shealtiel is fourteen, or, including the omitted kings, eighteen; the number given by Luke is twenty, which, however, is not a great variation. But the number of generations from Shealtiel to Christ in Matthew is fourteen, whereas in Luke it is twenty-two, which can only be explained on the supposition that several names have been omitted by Matthew; or that Shealtiel and Zerubbabel are not the same persons in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke.

In Luke's genealogy there is only one peculiarity which requires to be noticed. The first portion, from Adam to Abraham, not given by Matthew, is the same as the genealogy given in Genesis, with the exception that Cainan is mentioned as intervening between Shelah and Arphaxad (Luke iii. 36). No such name occurs in the Hebrew or in the Samaritan Pentateuch; but it is found in the Septuagint, and as Luke wrote in Greek, his genealogical list was, doubtless, taken from that version. Of course, the Cainan here mentioned as the son of Arphaxad is different from the Cainan who is mentioned in the subsequent verse (Luke iii. 37) as the son of Enos, and whose name occurs in the Mosaic chronology (Gen. v. 9, 10).

In comparing the genealogies, a great difficulty arises from the fact that after they had branched off for at least eighteen generations, the one in the line of Solomon and the other in the line of Nathan, they meet again, after the lapse of four centuries, in the persons of Shealtiel and Zerubbabel (Matt. i. 12, 13; Luke iii. 27). It is generally taken for granted that these persons are identical in both genealogies, and are the same as those mentioned in the later books of the Old Testament. This junction of the genealogies is generally accounted for on the supposition that the royal line of Solomon became extinct in Jehoiachin at the Babylonish captivity,¹ and that Shealtiel, the son of Neri

¹ Mansel supposes that it became extinct in the time of Ahaz, and that Hezekiah, the next in succession, was adopted as his heir. The

was the next in succession in the regal line. It is asserted that, according to the prediction or statement of Jeremiah, Jehoiachin should be childless: "Thus saith the Lord, Write ye this man (Coniah, that is, Jehoiachin) childless, a man that shall not prosper in his days: for no man of his seed shall prosper, sitting upon the throne of David" (Jer. xxii. 30). But these words do not absolutely affirm that Jehoiachin should have no children, but merely that no descendant of his should sit on the throne of David. Several sons of Jehoiachin are mentioned in the Book of Chronicles, and among them Shealtiel, or, as he is otherwise named, Salathiel (1 Chron. iii. 17, 18); so that the statement that Jechoniah begat Shealtiel is corroborated by the Old Testament. Zerubbabel is called the son of Shealtiel, and this is also stated in the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, and in the prophecies of Haggai (Ezra iii. 2, 8; Neh. xii. 1; Hag. i. 1, 12, 14, ii. 2): whereas in the Book of Chronicles he is called the son of Pedaiah, the brother of Shealtiel (1 Chron. iii. 19), which may be accounted for on the supposition that, as his nephew, he became his heir and successor in the royal line. The names of seven sons and two grandsons of Zerubbabel are given in the Book of Chronicles (1 Chron. iii. 19, 20), but among them occurs neither Abiud, the son of Zerubbabel, according to Matthew (Matt. i. 13), nor Rhesa, his son, according to Luke (Luke iii. 27). But the question arises, Are we justified in assuming that the Shealtiel and Zerubbabel in Matthew are the same persons as those mentioned in Luke? In Matthew they occur as members of the royal line of Solomon; in Luke, as members of the unknown line of Nathan. The Zerubbabel of Matthew is undoubtedly the governor of the Jews, the grandson of Jehoiachin mentioned in the later books of the Old Testament. Their position in the genealogical line favours their identity; as

reason for this is that Ahaz died at the age of thirty-six, so that unless there be some error in the numbers, Ahaz was but eleven years older than Hezekiah. *Speaker's Commentary* on Matthew, vol. i. p. 4. Calvin goes further, and supposes that the Solomonic line became extinct on the death of Ahaziah; and that Joash is only called the son of Ahaziah because he was his nearest relation, and the direct heir to the crown.

according to Matthew there are eighteen generations between Solomon and Shealtiel, and according to Luke twenty generations between Nathan and Shealtiel. But apart from this, and the coincidence that Shealtiel was the father of Zerubbabel, there is no reason to suppose that they are the same persons. It is altogether improbable that after eighteen generations and the lapse of four centuries the genealogies should meet in the same persons, and again immediately branch off. May it not be that we have here two entirely different persons: the Shealtiel and Zerubbabel, the descendants of Solomon, in Matthew, being those mentioned in the later books of the Old Testament; and the Shealtiel and Zerubbabel, the descendants of Nathan, in Luke, being otherwise unknown persons? This is the view adopted by Wieseler and Bleek as the most probable solution of the difficulty. The occurrence of these persons in both lists, the one the father and the other the son, and their nearly identical position in the genealogies, are certainly serious objections to this view; but whatever view we adopt there is a difficulty, and perhaps the conjecture that these names stand for different persons is after all the most probable solution.

Three theories of reconciliation have been advanced to bring these genealogies into accord: the theory of a levirate marriage, the theory that both Matthew and Luke give the genealogy of Joseph, and the theory that whilst Matthew gives the genealogy of Joseph, Luke gives the genealogy of Mary. The first and second theories may be combined.

The hypothesis of a levirate marriage proceeds on the assumption that Jacob was the father of Joseph by a levirate marriage, and that Heli was his real father; or, conversely, that Jacob was Joseph's real father, and Heli his putative or legal father. According to the Mosaic law, it was enjoined that if one of two brothers died having no children, his brother should take his wife, and the firstborn should succeed to the deceased brother (Dent. xxv. 5, 6). It is supposed that such a case occurred here. Jacob and Heli were brothers, and the one married the widow of the other; Matthew gives the genealogy of Jacob, the legal father of Joseph, and Luke that of Heli, his real father; or conversely.

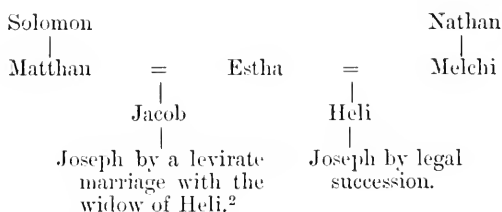
This was the early solution advanced by Julius Africanus, about the middle of the third century, as recorded by Eusebius.¹ The following is the statement of Eusebius, given in a somewhat abbreviated form: Matthew and Luke in their Gospels have given the genealogy of Christ differently, and many suppose that they are at variance. We subjoin the account of the matter which is given by Julius Africanus in his Epistle to Aristides, in which he discusses the harmony of the Gospel genealogies. After refuting the opinions of others as forced and deceptive, he gives the following account which he had received from tradition. The names of the generations were reckoned in Israel, either, according to nature, by the succession of legitimate offspring, or, according to law, whenever another raised up a child in the name of a brother dying childless. Some are inserted in the genealogical table who succeeded each other by natural descent of father and son, and some who were born of others: both the real and the reputed fathers are here mentioned. Thus neither of the Gospels has made a false statement, for the one reckons by nature and the other by law. So that both accounts are strictly true, and come down to Joseph with considerable intricacy indeed, but quite accurately. If we reckon the generations from David through Solomon, the third from the end is found to be Matthan, who begat Jacob the father of Joseph; but if, with Luke, we reckon them from Nathan the son of David, in like manner the third from the end is Melchi,² whose son Heli was the father of Joseph. It must be shown how each is recorded to be the father of Joseph, both Jacob who derived his descent from Solomon, and Heli who derived his from Nathan. Jacob and Heli were brothers, and their fathers, Matthan and Melchi, although of different families, are declared to be grandfathers of Joseph. Matthan and Melchi, having married in succession the same woman, begat children who were uterine brothers. By Estha, for this was the woman's name according to

¹ *Hist. Eccl.* i. 7.

² In our text of Luke's Gospel Matthat and Levi intervene between Melchi and Heli (Luke iii. 24). Probably the text which Julius Africanus followed omitted these names.

tradition,¹ Matthan, a descendant of Solomon, first begat Jacob; and when Matthan was dead, Melchi, who traced his descent back to Nathan, being of the same tribe but of another family, married her, and begat Heli. Thus we shall find the two, Jacob and Heli, although belonging to different families, were yet brethren by the same mother. Of these the one, Jacob, when his brother Heli had died childless, took the latter's wife, and begat by her a son, Joseph, his own son by nature. Wherefore also it is written Jacob begat Joseph (Matt. i. 16). But according to law he was the son of Heli. Accordingly Luke says: "Who was the son, as was supposed, of Joseph, the son of Heli, the son of Melchi" (Luke iii. 23, 24); for he could not more clearly express the generations according to law.

According to this explanation the genealogy would be—



Matthew gives the genealogy of Jacob, and Luke that of Heli.

This theory is intricate, and bears the aspect of a hypothesis framed to remove a difficulty. Besides, the son of a levirate marriage was always called the son of his real father, and not of his legal father. Thus, for example, Obed is called the son of Boaz, and not the son of Mahlon, whose widow he married as being next of kin. The levirate custom or law of marriage appears to have been concerned with the peculiar law of heritage among the Jews. This hypothesis may remove the difficulty arising from two distinct genealogical lines: but as both of these are connected with

¹ We know nothing more of Estha: the name was probably handed down by tradition from the grandsons of Jude, the brother of the Lord, mentioned in this passage by Julius Africanus.

² See Farrar *On Luke*, p. 372.

the descent of Joseph, the one his legal and the other his real descent, they cannot properly be considered as genealogies of Jesus, who was only supposed to be the son of Joseph ; an objection which we shall more fully consider.

The second hypothesis is that both Matthew and Luke give the genealogy of Joseph, neither of them giving the genealogy of Mary. This hypothesis has been adopted with some variations by Calvin, Grotius, Hug, Winer, Bleek, De Wette, Meyer, Bishop Hervey, Dr. Morison, Mansel,¹ Dr. Samuel Davidson, Alford, Bishop Wordsworth, Carr,² Bishop Ellicott,³ McClellan, Farrar,⁴ and Geikie. According to this hypothesis, Matthew gives the royal line of succession from Solomon to Joseph, whilst Luke gives the natural or lineal line from Nathan to Joseph. Their conjunction in Shealtiel and Zerubbabel is generally explained on the supposition that the royal line failed in the person of Jehoiachin, as he, according to the prediction of Jeremiah, had no children, and that Shealtiel and Zerubbabel, descendants from Nathan, succeeded as the heirs of Solomon. This may account for the difference of names from David to Zerubbabel, but does not account for the difference of names between Zerubbabel and Joseph.⁵

The great, and to us insuperable, objection to this theory

¹ *Speaker's Commentary*.

² *Commentary on Matthew: Cambridge Bible for Schools*, p. 29.

³ *Historical Lectures on the Life of our Lord*, 3rd ed. p. 96, note.

⁴ Farrar *On Luke*, Excursus ii. : "The Double Genealogies of Christ as the Son of David," pp. 369-375.

⁵ Attempts have been made to prove that several of the names that occur after Zerubbabel are merely variations of the same name. Rhesa, the son of Zerubbabel, according to Luke (iii. 26), is supposed not to be a proper name, but an appellative signifying a head or chief, applied to Zerubbabel as the prince of the Captivity. Abiud (Ἀβιούδ) in Matt. i. 13, and Joanna (Ἰωάννα) in Luke iii. 27, both reckoned as the sons of Zerubbabel, are regarded as the same name. After this it is supposed that the lines again diverge from Abiud and Joanna ; Matthew gives the elder branch from Eliakim, probably the eldest son of Abiud, and Luke from Joda a younger branch. It is further supposed that the genealogies meet again in Matthan, who on the failure of Eliakim's line became the head of the house of David. See Hervey's *Genealogies*, pp. 115 ff. and p. 343.

is that neither of the genealogies gives that of Jesus. Jesus was, according to both Matthew and Luke, by reason of His miraculous birth, only the supposed son of Joseph and the real son of Mary.¹ We have then according to this theory, so far as the genealogies are concerned, no proof that Jesus was the son of David. The Davidic descent of Jesus is repeatedly affirmed in Scripture. The title which the Jews applied to the Messiah, "The son of David," and the predictions of the prophets, that "a Branch should arise from the root of David," all imply His Davidic descent; but unless Mary were descended from David, this could not be the case. Peter, in his discourse on the Day of Pentecost, affirms that of the fruit of the loins of David, according to the flesh, God would raise up Christ to sit upon his throne (Acts ii. 30). Paul, in his discourse in Pisidian Antioch, makes the same declaration, that of the seed of David, God, according to His promise, raised unto Israel a Saviour, Jesus (Acts xiii. 23). In his Epistles he twice affirms the Davidic descent of Jesus: "Jesus Christ our Lord was made of the seed of David according to the flesh" (Rom. i. 3). "Jesus Christ, of the seed of David, was raised from the dead" (2 Tim. ii. 8). And in the Apocalypse our Lord is called "the root and the offspring of David" (Rev. xxii. 6). But no conclusion of this nature can be drawn from the Davidic descent of Joseph, and consequently the genealogies, if they refer to Joseph only, do not prove that our Lord was descended from David. They are divested of their importance and interest. The Davidic descent of Mary is asserted by the Fathers, as Justin Martyr (*Dial. c. Tryph.* xlv.), Irenæus (*Adv. Hær.* iii. 21. 5), Tertullian, and others. As Meyer says: "The Davidic descent of Jesus is established as certain by the predictions of the prophets, which, in reference to so essential a mark of the Messiah, could not remain without fulfilment, as well as by the unanimous testimony of the New Testament."²

This objection is thus met by Bishop Hervey: "If the

¹ Matt. i. 18; Luke iii. 35.

² Meyer's *Commentary on Matthew*, vol. i. p. 61. At the same time, Meyer asserts that there is no evidence of this from the genealogies, as according to him the genealogy in Luke is not that of Mary.

Matthan of Matthew is the same individual as the Matthat of Luke, it follows that Jacob and Heli were brothers. And if Mary were the daughter of Jacob, and Joseph the son of Heli, Joseph and Mary would be first cousins, grandchildren of the same grandfather Matthat. And if Jacob had no son, but only daughters, and his male heir and successor, as head of the tribe of Judah, were Joseph the son of his brother Heli, we are quite sure, from the constant practice of the Jews, that Joseph would marry Mary; just as the five daughters of Zelophehad married their five cousins."¹ But such an answer to the objection cannot be maintained; it is founded not on one, but on four suppositions, not one of which can be proved.

The third hypothesis is, that whilst Matthew gives the genealogy of Joseph, Luke gives that of Mary. This theory has been adopted by Luther, Dr. John Lightfoot, Hottinger, Bengel,² Kidder, Kuinoel, Michaelis, Yardley, M'Knight, Greswell,³ Lange,⁴ Auberlen, Wieseler, Ebrard,⁵ Holmes,⁶ Olshausen,⁷ Smith of Jordanhill, Dean Spence, Andrews,⁸ Plumptre, Schaff,⁹ Godet,¹⁰ and Weiss.¹¹ According to this theory, Jesus is by the genealogy of Matthew shown to be the legal heir of David's throne, whilst by the genealogy of Luke He is shown to be the seed of David according to the flesh, by His being the son of Mary. The genealogy of Matthew is the genealogy of Joseph, whilst the genealogy of Luke is that of Heli. Mary's name is omitted in the genealogy, because it was not the custom of the Jews to mention women in their genealogical tables. That in one of the genealogies the descent of Mary is

¹ Hervey's *Genealogies*, pp. 56, 57.

² Bengel's *Gnomon of the New Testament* on Matt. i. 16.

³ Greswell's *Dissertations*, vol. ii. p. 103.

⁴ Lange's *Life of Christ*, vol. i. p. 380, translation.

⁵ Ebrard's *Gospel History*, p. 159.

⁶ Kitto's *Cyclopædia*, article, "Genealogy."

⁷ Olshausen, *On the Gospels*, vol. i. p. 39.

⁸ Andrews' *Life of Christ*, p. 56.

⁹ Schaff on "Matthew" in the *Popular Commentary on the New Testament*.

¹⁰ Godet's *Commentary on Luke*, vol. i. p. 201, translation.

¹¹ Weiss' *Life of Jesus*, vol. i. p. 220, translation.

given, is affirmed by Clemens Alexandrinus, although he fixes, as we think erroneously, on that given by Matthew. "In the Gospel according to Matthew the genealogy which is begun with Abraham is continued down to Mary the mother of our Lord."¹ And it is a curious circumstance that in the Talmud, Mary the mother of Jesus is called the daughter of Heli,—a statement which could only be made from Luke's Gospel, or more probably from tradition.²

But here we are met with what appears to be a formidable objection: that as it is distinctly stated by Matthew that Joseph was the son of Jacob, so it is as distinctly stated by Luke that he was the son of Heli. It is not disputed that Joseph was the son of Jacob; the words are clear, "Jacob begat Joseph the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ" (Matt. i. 16). But that Joseph was the son of Heli is not so distinctly stated. According to the best attested reading, the words are: *ὃν υἱὸς ὡς ἐνομίζετο Ἰωσήφ τοῦ Ἠλεί*, rendered in the Revised Version: "Being the son (as was supposed) of Joseph the son of Heli" (Luke iii. 23). But the parenthesis may be properly extended so that the words might be read: "Being (the son as was supposed of Joseph) the son of Heli." According to this reading, the meaning might be that Jesus was the supposed son of Joseph, but through His mother Mary, omitted in the genealogy as women are, the real son or grandson of Heli. Besides, it is to be remarked that the article *τοῦ* is omitted before the name Joseph, whilst it is to be found before all the other names belonging to the genealogical series. From this it may be inferred that the name Joseph belongs to the parenthetical clause introduced by Luke; so that the genitive *τοῦ Ἠλεί* depends, not on Joseph, but on *ὃν*: Jesus, as was supposed, the son of Joseph, being the son of Heli. It is not uncommon in the Old Testament for the grandson to be called the son of

¹ Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.* i. 21. See also Justin, *Dial. cum Trypho.* ch. cxx.

² Hagig. 77. 4. Godet *On Luke*, vol. i. p. 202. "From whence," he asks, "have Jewish scholars derived this information? If from the text of Luke, this proves that they understood it as we do: if they received it from tradition, it confirms the truth of the genealogical document Luke made use of."

his grandfather. Thus, if this explanation be adopted, the genealogy given by Luke is not that of Joseph, but of Heli the grandfather of Jesus.¹

We conclude that this is the true solution of the problem—the reconciliation of the genealogies of our Lord as given by Matthew and Luke. We have not here the genealogy of the same person, for if this were the case, the difference in the names, so far as we can see, would be irreconcilable, except by a series of improbable suppositions; whereas if they are the genealogies of different persons, then the difference in the names is not only accountable but necessary.² And, also, whereas on the hypothesis that both genealogies refer to Joseph, there is no evidence that Jesus was descended from David; on the other hypothesis that one of the genealogies refers to Mary, it is proved that Jesus was of the seed of David according to the flesh.

But it has been objected to the whole subject, that it is very improbable that there should exist such long genealogical registers, especially of persons such as Joseph and Mary, who, according to the Gospels, were of humble origin, and that both of them could trace their descent from David. But this objection is met by the fact of the scrupulous carefulness of the Jews with regard to their genealogies. We have abundant evidence of this in the First Book of Chronicles and in the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah. Josephus frequently refers to the public tables. In the account of his life, after giving his own priestly descent, he says: “Thus have I set down the genealogy of my family as I have found it described in the

¹ See Godet, *Commentary on Luke*, vol. i. p. 199. He draws the following conclusions from the omission of *τωῦ*: 1. That this name (Joseph) belongs rather to the sentence introduced by Luke. 2. That the genealogical document which he consulted began with the name of Heli. 3. And consequently that this piece was not originally the genealogy of Jesus or of Joseph, but of Heli. Since the above was written, we have found the same theory proposed by Professor Roberts of St. Andrews in an article in the *Thinker*, January 1895.

² According to this view, the Shealtiel and Zerubbabel of Matthew, the first the son and the second the grandson of Jehoiachin, were the well-known persons in the Old Testament, whilst the Shealtiel and Zerubbabel of Luke are two unknown persons.

public tables." And he informs us that from all countries in which their priests are scattered abroad, they send to Jerusalem the names of their parents, attested by witnesses.¹ The famous Rabbi Hillel, a contemporary of our Lord, succeeded in proving by means of genealogical tables that, although a poor man, he was a descendant of David. Rabbi Levi says: There was found a book of genealogies at Jerusalem in which it was written that Hillel was of the family of David.² Anna the prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, could trace her descent from the tribe of Asher (Luke ii. 3); Paul asserted that he belonged to the tribe of Benjamin (Rom. xi. 1; Acts xiii. 21); and the grandsons of Jude, the brother of our Lord, had to appear before Domitian, because they were the descendants of David.³ Of all the registers, we may be certain that the royal register of David, from whom the Messiah was to proceed, would be kept with the most scrupulous care. These public registers would be destroyed at the destruction of Jerusalem.

From the annotations found interspersed in the genealogical list given by Matthew, as well as from its omissions, we think it not improbable that he constructed his own genealogy without having recourse to the public registers. On the other hand, Luke has none of these notes and omissions, so that it is not improbable that he extracted his genealogy from the public registers, being the genealogical table of Heli, the father of Mary, and incorporated it into his narrative with the explanatory clause, "being the son, as was supposed, of Joseph."

¹ *Vita*, § 1; *Contra Apion*. i. 7.

² Lightfoot's *Works*, vol. iii. p. 41, Pitman's edition.

³ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 19.

DISSERTATION II.



THE CENSUS OF QUIRINIUS.

LUKE ii. 1, 2.

LITERATURE.—The literature on this subject is extensive, as it is discussed in all commentaries on Luke's Gospel. We give a list of the most important works arranged alphabetically: Andrews, *Life of Christ*, pp. 1 ff.; Bleek's *Synoptische Erklärung*, vol. i. pp. 66 ff.; Caspari's *Introduction to the Life of Christ*, trans. pp. 34–38; Davidson's *Introduction to the Study of the New Testament*, 3rd ed. vol. i. pp. 451–456; Ebrard's *Gospel History*, pp. 136 ff.; Ewald's *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. v. pp. 132 ff.; trans. vol. vi. pp. 152–157; Farrar's *Life of Christ*, vol. ii. Appendix; *Date of Christ's Birth*, pp. 149–152; Gerlach, *Die römischen Statthalter in Syria und Judæa*, pp. 22–42; Godet's *Commentary on Luke's Gospel*, trans. vol. i. pp. 119–128; Greswell's *Dissertations on the Gospels*, vol. i. Dissertation xii. pp. 443–525; Huschke, *Ueber den zu der Geburt Jesu Christi gehalten Census*, a work which has not been accessible to me; Lewin's *Fasti Sacri*; Meyer's *Commentary on Luke*; Mommsen's *Provinces of the Roman Empire*; Schürer, *The Jewish People in the Time of Christ*; Sieffert's article, "Schatzung," in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie*, 2nd ed.; Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, article, "Cyrenius"; Steinmeyer, *Die Geschichte der Geburt des Jesus*; Wieseler's *Chronologische Synopse*, pp. 73 ff.; trans. by the Rev. P. Venables, pp. 45–135; Winer's *Realwörterbuch*, articles, "Quirinus" and "Schatzung"; and Zumpt, *Das Geburtsjahr Christi*.

The statement of Luke concerning the census of Quirinius,

as given in the *textus receptus*, is as follows: 'Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, ἐξῆλθε δόγμα παρὰ Καίσαρος Αὐγούστου, ἀπογράφεσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου (Luke ii. 1, 2). These words are translated according to the Authorised Version: "And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus that all the world should be taxed. (And this taxing was first made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria"); and, according to the Revised Version: "Now it came to pass in those days, there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus, that all the world should be enrolled. This was the first enrolment made when Quirinius was governor of Syria." This decree of Caesar Augustus was issued in those days (ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις), that is, at or about the time of our Lord's birth. Πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην (that all the world) is not to be restricted to the land of Judæa or Palestine (Kuinoel, Olshausen), but denotes the Roman Empire; for such is the usual import of the expression, and is evidently its meaning here, as the decree was issued by Caesar Augustus. 'Ἀπογράφεσθαι does not signify "to be taxed," as in the Authorised Version, but "to be enrolled," as in the Revised Version. A census was to be made, probably to ascertain the population and resources of the empire, and, perhaps, with a view to future taxation; but it does not necessarily infer that such a taxation should follow immediately. So, also, ἀπογραφὴ does not denote taxation, but enrolment. The article ἡ before ἀπογραφὴ is omitted in our best manuscripts, & B D, and is rejected by Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Westcott and Hort, but retained by Alford and Meyer. The Revisers have omitted it without any marginal note. Its omission causes a slight change in the translation. If this reading be adopted, αὕτη is the subject of ἐγένετο, and ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη the predicate, so that the words must be rendered as in the Revised Version: "This was the first enrolment made when Quirinius was governor of Syria."

The reality of this census of the Roman Empire has been questioned on the ground that there is no historical evidence, either from Josephus or from the Roman historians, that

such a census was taken at this period. But this is a mistake. Various statistical accounts were drawn up. Julius Caesar, we are informed, had undertaken, with a view to an exact system of taxation, a great statistical work, containing a survey of the Roman Empire (*descriptio orbis*). This work was continued by Augustus, and is said to have occupied thirty-two years. Augustus, with that wisdom for which he was so distinguished, sought to consolidate his vast empire, and for this purpose several censuses were taken during his reign. Of these three are specially mentioned. Thus Suetonius says: "Augustus thrice took a census of the people, the first and the third time with a colleague, and the second by himself."¹ This statement is confirmed by the Ancyran monument,² containing a record of the actions of Augustus. On it we are informed that these three censuses were held U.C. 726, 746, and 767, corresponding with B.C. 28, 8, and A.D. 13.³ It may be that no special census is mentioned about the year of our Lord's birth, yet there is nothing against the supposition that such a census may then have been made, or that one of the censuses above mentioned may then have been carried into effect. Indeed, the second of these, which occurred in B.C. 8, according to many biblical scholars, was made in the very year in which our Lord was born. It has, indeed, been affirmed that these censuses were made only of Roman citizens; but we learn from Tacitus that they included also the allies and dependencies of Rome. We are informed by him that after the death of Augustus, Tiberius ordered the imperial register to

¹ Suetonius, *Augustus*, xxvii.

² The *Monumentum Ancyranum* is an inscription in Greek and Latin on the walls of a temple erected in honour of Augustus at Ancyra the modern Angora. It contains an account of the principal events in the life of that emperor; a great part of the inscription is still legible.

³ Much complication arises from the different methods of chronology; the one dated from the founding of Rome A.U.C., and the other our ordinarily received Christian era. The Roman era corresponding with the Christian era was A.U.C. 754. The conversion of a date B.C. or A.D. into a date A.U.C. is therefore effected by subtracting the date B.C. and by adding the date A.D. to the number 754. Thus the date of the death of Herod the Great is A.U.C. 750, that is, B.C. 4.

be produced and read. It contained a summary of the resources of the State, the number of Romans and auxiliaries in the armies, the extent of the navy, kingdoms, provinces, tributes, customs, the public expenditure and largesses. The register was all written by the hand of Augustus.¹

It has been further objected that in a general census of the Roman Empire, the kingdom of Judæa would be excluded, because at this time it formed no part of the empire, but was governed by a king of its own, and it was not until it had lost its independence by the dethronement of Archelaus, the son and successor of Herod the Great, that a census of the population with a view to taxation was made. But there is no reason to suppose that these confederate kingdoms were excluded from the census which was taken of the Roman Empire. The *reges socii* of the Romans were merely nominal rulers: they not only owned the suzerainty of Rome, but they were appointed and dethroned at the pleasure of the Roman senate and the emperor: there was no great difference between their power and that of the Roman proconsuls. The independence of Judæa was at this time only nominal: the Jews had to take an oath of allegiance to Augustus as well as to their own king.² Herod could do nothing without the permission of Caesar. These subordinate kings certainly taxed their own people: and in this instance the enrolment mentioned in Luke's Gospel, although enjoined by the emperor, was carried out, not according to Roman, but according to Jewish procedure; besides, it must be remembered that it was not an assessment, but merely a census.

The exact year of our Lord's birth is still a matter of doubt, and different dates have been assigned to it. Our received chronology is not older than the sixth century, and was first introduced into the Christian Church by Dionysius, surnamed Exiguus, a monk who lived in the reign of Justinian, and hence it is called the Dionysian era. It is now acknowledged by almost all critics and chronologists to be erroneous; and it is considered that the date of our Lord's birth was several years earlier than is represented in our common chronology. There is no doubt whatever that

¹ Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 11.

² Josephus, *Ant.* xvii. 2. 4.

Herod the Great was alive when our Lord was born. This is affirmed both by Matthew and Luke. According to Matthew, Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judæa in the days of Herod the king (Matt. ii. 1); and, according to Luke, it was in the days of Herod the king of Judæa (Luke i. 5) that the angel of the Lord appeared to Zacharias, the father of the Baptist. Now the date of Herod's death can be ascertained from the history of Josephus with great exactness. "Herod," he says, "died the fifth day after he had caused Antipater (his son) to be slain, having reigned, since he had procured Antigonus to be slain, thirty-four years; and since he had been declared king by the Romans, thirty-seven years."¹ Almost all chronologists have fixed upon B.C. 4, or A.U.C. 750, as the date of Herod's death.² There is also evidence that our Lord was born some time before that event, because time must be allowed for the presentation in the temple, the visit of the wise men, and the flight into Egypt; and yet it is evident that no great amount of time could have elapsed (Matt. ii. 19), perhaps one or two years. Eusebius says that it was in the forty-second year of the reign of Augustus, and the twenty-eighth year after the subjugation of Egypt and the death of Antony and Cleopatra, that our Lord was born in Bethlehem of Judæa:³ giving the approximate date of B.C. 3. The following are the opinions of some of the leading critics and chronologists: Zumpt fixes on B.C. 8; Alford and Ebrard, on B.C. 7; Kepler and Lardner, on B.C. 6; Usher, on B.C. 5; Bengel, Wieseler, Greswell, and Ellicott, on B.C. 4. Probably the most correct date is B.C. 5, a year before the death of Herod.

The enrolment is said to have been made when Quirinius was governor of Syria. Publius Sulpicius Quirinius, or as his name is elsewhere written, Quirinus,⁴ was a distinguished Roman officer. He was entrusted with many important com-

¹ Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 8. 1.

² So Weiseler, Winer, Meyer, Schürer, Zumpt.

³ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 5.

⁴ In Tacitus and Suetonius the name is written Quirinus; in Strabo and Josephus, Quirinius. Quirinius is the Greek form of the Roman name. In the Vatican manuscript it is Quireinus (*Κυρεῖνου*); in the Alexandrian, Quirunius (*Κηρυνίου*); and in the Sinaitic, Quirenus (*Κυρηνίου*).

missions, and was in great favour both with Augustus and with Tiberius. He was consul, B.C. 12, along with Valerius Messala Barbatus. Our information concerning him is chiefly derived from the account given by Tacitus. "About this time Tiberius desired of the senate that the decease of Sulpicius Quirinus might be celebrated by a public funeral. Quirinus was born at Lanuvium, a municipal town, and nowise related to the ancient patrician family of the Sulpicii; but being a brave soldier was for his active services rewarded with the consulship under Augustus, and soon after with a triumph for driving the Homonadensians out of their strongholds in Cilicia. When the young Caius Cæsar (the grandson of Augustus) was sent to settle the affairs of Armenia, Quirinus was appointed his tutor, and at the same time paid court to Tiberius, then in his retirement at Rhodes. The emperor represented this to the senate; he extolled the kind offices of Quirinus, and branded Marcus Lollius as the author of the perverse behaviour of Caius Cæsar to himself, and of all the jarring between them. But the memory of Quirinus was not agreeable to the rest of the senate by reason of the danger to which he exposed Lepida,¹ as I have before related, and his sordid meanness and overbearing conduct in the latter part of his life."²

But a formidable objection to the statement regarding the census occurs, amounting to an apparent contradiction. According to Luke, Quirinius was governor of Syria, and the census or enrolment was made by him at or about the time of our Lord's birth (Luke ii. 1). But Josephus informs us that Quirinius did not receive the appointment of governor of Syria until ten years after, when Archelaus, the son of Herod, was deposed, and Judæa was annexed to the empire and incorporated with the province of Syria. Quirinius was then sent into Syria to settle the annexation of Judæa, and to take a census of the population with a view to taxation; which census gave rise to that memorable outbreak of the Jews headed by Judas of Galilee. "Archelaus' country," says

¹ For the conduct of Quirinius toward his wife Lepida, see Tacitus, *Ann.* iii. 22.

² Tacitus, *Ann.* iii. 48.

Josephus, "was annexed to the province of Syria; and Quirinius, who had been consul, was sent by Caesar to take account of the effects of the people."¹ And again: "Quirinius came himself into Judæa, which was now added to the province of Syria, to take an account of their substance and to dispose of the money of Archelaus."² Besides, according to Josephus, it was not Quirinius who was governor of Syria at the time of the death of Herod the Great, which occurred shortly after the birth of Christ, but Varus, afterwards notorious in Roman history for his defeat and the destruction of his legions by the Germans. He informs us that Varus, the governor of Syria, came to Jerusalem, and presided at the trial of Antipater, the son of Herod, who was put to death by his father five days before his own death.³ Varus continued for some time longer, for he quelled the disturbances which arose after the death of Herod.

There is thus an apparent discrepancy in these accounts. Luke states that Quirinius was governor of Syria about the time of our Lord's birth; and Josephus, that this was not until ten years later, and that it was then that he made the census. Some suppose that Luke has committed an error in stating that the census of Quirinius occurred ten years before it actually happened. But it is very improbable that such a mistake should be committed by a historian whose extreme accuracy has, in other points, been testified to and verified. Luke was well acquainted with the census of Quirinius which gave rise to the revolt of Judas of Galilee, and alludes to it in his Acts of the Apostles: "After this man rose up Judas of Galilee in the days of the enrolment, and drew away some of the people after him" (Acts v. 37).

When we turn to the statements of the Fathers we have apparently two different accounts. Justin Martyr agrees with Luke that the census was made by Quirinius about the time of our Lord's birth. He makes three allusions to it. In his first Apology he says: "There is a village in the land of the Jews five and thirty stadia from Jerusalem, in which Jesus Christ was born, as you can ascertain from the registers of

¹ Josephus, *Ant.* xvii. 13. 5.

² *Ibid.* xviii. 1. 1.

³ *Ibid.* xvii. 5. 2.

the enrolment under Quirinius, the first procurator in Judæa." "Christ was born one hundred and fifty years ago under Quirinius." And in his *Dialogue with Trypho* he says: "On the occasion of the first census which was taken in Judæa under Quirinius, Joseph went from Nazareth, where he lived, to Bethlehem, to which he belonged, to be enrolled."¹ Justin here corroborates the statement of Luke, that the census was made under Quirinius; and for the truth of this he appeals to the public registers. The same statement is made by Eusebius: "Christ was born the same year when the first census was taken, and Quirinius was governor of Syria."²

Tertullian, on the other hand, affirms that when the census mentioned in Luke's Gospel was taken, Sentius Saturninus was governor of Syria. "It is certain," he observes, "that at this very time (when our Lord was born) a census had been taken in Judæa by Sentius Saturninus, which might have satisfied their inquiry respecting the family and descent of Christ."³ Caius Sentius Saturninus filled the office of governor of Syria, B.C. 10-6, and was succeeded by Quintilius Varus, B.C. 6-4. It is too hastily supposed that Tertullian here commits a historical blunder. Many critics affirm that our Lord was born when Saturninus was governor of Syria. This, however, is not asserted by Tertullian: he merely affirms that under the government of Saturninus a census was taken in Judæa; and there is nothing improbable in the supposition that such a census was appointed or commenced during the last year of the proconsulship of Saturninus, B.C. 6, and was continued and completed by his successor Varus, perhaps with the assistance of Quirinius.

Still the difficulty confronts us that whilst, according to Luke, the census was taken at the birth of Christ, when Quirinius was governor of Syria; according to Josephus it was not made until ten years later, when at that time Quirinius was appointed governor. Several attempts have been made to solve the difficulty, either by giving different interpretations to the words of the evangelist, or by an

¹ Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. ch. xxxiv. and ch. xlvi.; *Dial. c. Tryph.* ch. lxxviii.

² Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 5.

³ *Adv. Marcion.* iv. 19.

examination into the historical circumstances of the times.

Some attempt the solution of the difficulty by conjectural readings and emendations. Beza, Olshausen, and Kuinoel call in question the integrity of the text. They suppose it to be a gloss by some ignorant transcriber; perhaps a marginal note which found its way into the text. Others have recourse to conjectures; for example, that instead of *Κυρηνίου* the original reading was *Κυντιλίου*, referring to Quintilius Varus, or *Σατουρνίνου*, referring to Sentius Saturninus. Michaelis proposes to read *πρὸ τῆς ἡγεμονεύοντος κ.τ.λ.*: the first enrolment which took place before Quirinius was governor of Syria. All these and similar suppositions must be rejected as at variance with critical authorities.

Some critics, putting stress on *αὕτη*, suppose that the parenthetic clause, "and this taxing was first made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria,"¹ was added for the purpose of drawing a distinction between this enrolment and the census made ten years afterwards by Quirinius: this enrolment was the prelude of that more celebrated enrolment made by Quirinius when actual taxation took place. This view of the matter was suggested by Ebrard. "When," he observes, "Luke speaks of a census which was taken at the time of Christ's birth, he must have made a distinction between this and the later census of Quirinius, which he calls in Acts v. 37, *ἡ ἀπογραφή*, the census *κατ' ἐξοχήν*."² Calvin appears to have adopted a similar view: "The words of Luke," he observes, "bear this sense, that about the time of our Lord's birth an edict came out to have the people registered, but that the registration could not take place till after a change of the kingdom, when Judæa had been annexed to another province. This clause is accordingly added by way of correction: This first registration was made when Quirinius was governor of Syria; that is, it was then first carried into effect."³ But such a view necessitates a different meaning to the verb *ἀπογράφεσθαι* and the noun *ἀπογραφή*: in the one case the word signifies to be enrolled; in the other, actual taxation. Besides, according to Luke, the decree was

¹ Authorised Version.

² Ebrard's *Gospel History*, p. 141.

³ Calvin on Luke ii. 2.

not only issued, but actually carried into effect, as is evident from the journey of Joseph and Mary from Nazareth to Bethlehem in order that their names might be registered in the public census.

Other critics, putting stress on the word *πρώτη*, "the first enrolment," suppose that it stands for the comparative *προτέρα*, and that the words *ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου* are dependent upon it, being governed by it in the genitive. They translate the passage: "This enrolment was made before Quirinius was governor of Syria." Thus the enrolment in the text is distinguished from that subsequently made by Quirinius. This view has been adopted by Tholuck, Ewald, Wieseler,¹ Greswell,² and Dr. Samuel Davidson³ in his first *Introduction to the New Testament*. In support of this view it is affirmed that the superlative *πρώτος* is frequently used for the comparative *πρότερος* in the sense of *before*. As when the Baptist says: "This is He of whom I said, He that cometh after me is become before me: for He was before me" (*ὅτι πρῶτός μου ἦν*, John i. 15, 30); and when our Lord says: "If the world hateth you, ye know that it hath hated Me before *it hated* you" (*πρῶτον ὑμῶν*, John xv. 18). But such an interpretation is here hardly admissible. It not only assumes that the superlative *πρώτη*, *first*, is used in the sense of the comparative *προτέρα*, *before*; but it causes it to govern the words *ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου*, which are naturally to be taken as a genitive absolute. This has been regarded as inadmissible by all our distinguished grammarians. Thus Winer says: "If such were Luke's meaning, his language would be not only ambiguous, but also awkward if not ungrammatical. Husehke has not succeeded in finding an example which is really parallel: he merely illustrates the very familiar construction of *πρώτος* with the genitive of a noun."⁴

Other critics fix on the word *ἐγένετο*, and give it the

¹ Wieseler, *Synopsis of the Gospels*, pp. 101 ff.

² Greswell's *Dissertation*, vol. ii. p. 523.

³ Davidson's *Introduction to the N.T.* 1st ed. p. 213.

⁴ Winer's *Grammar of the N.T. Greek*, translated by Dr. Moulton, p. 306. So also Buttman's *Grammar of N.T. Greek*, p. 84.

sense of *was done or completed*: "This enrolment was completed, as the first enrolment, when Quirinius was governor of Syria." According to this view the evangelist distinguishes between the enrolment begun at the birth of Christ and the enrolment completed under Quirinius. This opinion has been adopted by Hofmann and Canon Cook.¹ This supposes that no less than ten years elapsed between the issuing of the decree and its completion, which is altogether at variance with the rapid procedure of the Romans. Others distinguish between the enrolment or placing on the register and the levying of the taxation which took place under Quirinius, an opinion to which we have previously alluded.

A more plausible explanation is that the title *ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας* was here conferred on Quirinius because he was at this time entrusted with an extraordinary commission in Syria. Quirinius, as we know, was then in the East as an officer of high distinction, and invested with powers. He defeated the Homonadensians, a Cilician tribe, and shortly afterwards was appointed tutor or governor to Caius Cæsar, the grandson of Augustus, probably about A.D. 1. It has been supposed, not without some grounds, that, in consequence of his distinguished rank and abilities, he was employed as chief commissioner of Syria to carry into effect the census appointed by Augustus, and was for this purpose invested with an authority equal to that of the governor of Syria, who was then either Sentius Saturninus or Quintilius Varus. He might even for this purpose have been appointed joint governor.² This opinion has been adopted by Grotius, Beza, Hug, Winer, Neander, and Gerlach. The great objection to it arises from the silence of history; but as, according to the view here taken, the appointment was only temporary for a definite purpose, its historical omission may easily be accounted for. But the title *ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας*

¹ *Speaker's Bible*, N.T. vol. i. pp. 326-329, note: On the Census of Cyrenius.

² It is very doubtful if there were ever joint governors of Syria. Josephus indeed speaks of Saturninus and Volumnius as governors of Syria, *Ant.* xvi. 9. 1. But Volumnius, of whom elsewhere we know nothing, may have acted only as legate to Saturninus.

can only denote "the governor of Syria": if merely an extraordinary commissioner, a different title would have been employed.

Another possible solution is that Quirinius is here called governor of Syria, because this was the name by which he was best known when Luke wrote his Gospel; although at the time when he made this early census, at the birth of our Lord, he was not actually governor. When a man has occupied with distinction an important office, he is often spoken of by the title conferred on him in mentioning events which happened even prior to his occupation of that office. Thus Cato Major is known in Roman history as Cato the censor; so Quirinius may have been known as Quirinius the governor of Syria. But there is no ground for this opinion, especially as the words are quite clear, Quirinius being governor of Syria:¹ it is adopted by few, and need not occupy our attention.

Hitherto the solutions of the difficulty have been drawn chiefly from the text, and are derived from the different meanings attached to the words *αὕτη, πρώτη, ἐγένετο*, and *ἡγεμονεύοντος*. We now come to a much more important solution of a different character, resting on different grounds, and founded on an exact examination of the historical circumstances of the times. A. W. Zumpt, nephew of the celebrated grammarian of the same name, in a monograph of great learning and research,² has undertaken to prove that Quirinius was twice governor of Syria—first, close upon the period usually assigned by biblical critics for the birth of our Lord, B.C. 5 or 4; and a second time, ten years afterwards, when Judæa was annexed to the province of Syria, as mentioned by Josephus. His reasoning is most ingenious, and is considered to be convincing by many distinguished critics and historians.

Zumpt makes a very careful inquiry into the succession of the governors of Syria and the duration of their governments; and he makes the discovery that there is an interval close upon the time of our Lord's birth which is not accounted for. About B.C. 10 (~~Pionysian era, B.C. 14~~), Titius was

¹ ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου.

² *Das Geburtsjahr Christi.*

appointed governor of Syria: he was succeeded by Sentius Saturninus, who held the office for three years, B.C. 9–6. His successor—Quinctilius Varus—was appointed B.C. 6, and was governor of Syria B.C. 4, the year in which Herod the Great died. After him there is a gap, and no further mention of the governors of Syria is made until we come to Quirinius, A.D. 6 (Dionysian era, A.D. 10), except that Volusius Saturninus is mentioned as governor of Syria on a coin of Antioch about A.D. 4. The question then is, Can we determine who was governor of Syria from B.C. 4, when Varus departed, to A.D. 4, when Volusius Saturninus was appointed? Zumpt, as the result of several most ingenious investigations, arrives at the conclusion that this was Quirinius.

The arguments which he uses in support of this conclusion, if not absolutely convincing, are at least so highly plausible, that they have obtained the assent of our most distinguished Roman historians. Tacitus, in his *Annals*, informs us that Quirinius, shortly after his consulship, obtained a triumph for his victory over the Homonadensians, having driven them out of their strongholds in Cilicia.² This war is also mentioned by Strabo. “Quirinius,” he says, “reduced them (the Homonadensians) by famine, and took four thousand prisoners, whom he settled as inhabitants in the neighbouring cities.”³ It occurred at the very time in question (B.C. 4 to A.D. 1), for Tacitus informs us that it was before Quirinius was appointed tutor or governor to Caius Caesar (A.D. 1). The question arises, In what capacity did

¹ The governors of Syria are thus given by Zumpt—

M. Titius, about B.C. 10.

C. Sentius Saturninus, B.C. 9–6.

P. Quinctilius Varus, B.C. 6–4.

P. Sulpicius Quirinius, B.C. 4–1 ?.

M. Lollius, B.C. 1 to A.D. 2.

C. Marcius Censorinus, A.D. 2–4.

L. Volusius Saturninus, A.D. 4–6.

P. Sulpicius Quirinius, A.D. 6–11.

Zumpt's *Das Geburtsjahr Christi*, p. 71. See also Schürer's *The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, Div. i. vol. i. pp. 351–357.

² Tacitus, *Ann.* iii. 48: “Consulatum sub divo Augusto, mox expugnatīs per Ciliciam Homonadensium castellis insignia triumphī adeptus.”

³ Strabo, xii. 6. 5.

Quirinius carry on this war? It must have been as governor of that province to which the Homonadensians belonged, and that province must have been a proconsular province; for it was only the governor of a proconsular province who could possess an army and make war, and to whom the peace of the province he governed was entrusted. Now, Zumpt proves by an exhaustive process that this province could not have been Asia, Bithynia, Pontus, Pamphylia, Cappadocia, or Galatia, which were pretorian or senatorial provinces, and possessed no army; but must have been Cilicia, especially as the Homonadensians had their strongholds within that country. But at this time the province of Cilicia was reduced in size, and its eastern half was assigned to Syria. It appears to have had no governor of its own; so that the conclusion at which Zumpt arrives is that Quirinius, at the time of that war with the Homonadensians, was governor of Syria. This conclusion has been adopted by the distinguished Roman historian Mommsen: "The Syrian army," he says, "carried out the chastisement of the Homonadensians; the governor, Publius Sulpicius Quirinius, advanced some years later into their territory, cut off their supplies, and compelled them to submit *en masse*, whereupon they were distributed among the surrounding townships, and their former territory was laid waste."¹

This view is supposed to be supported by the fragment of a sepulchral inscription found at Tibur (Tivoli)² in 1764, and now placed in the Vatican Museum. The inscription states that the person whom it commemorates was proconsul of Asia and twice governor of Syria and Phœnicia. Although the name Quirinius does not appear on it, yet it is supposed that it refers to his official appointments, supposing that he was twice governor of Syria. Of course such an opinion is liable to great uncertainty, but it has been adopted by such distinguished historians as Mommsen³ and Merivale. The

¹ Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire*, vol. i. p. 336, translated by Professor Dickson of Glasgow University.

² Canon Cook, in the *Speaker's Commentary*, is mistaken in supposing that this inscription was found in the Tiber.

³ *Res gestæ divi Augusti*, p. 121. Mommsen believes that Quirinius was proconsul of Syria A.U.C. 751, 752, that is, B.C. 3, 2.

inscription, indeed, proves that the person referred to was twice governor of Syria, but there is no proof that Quirinius was ever proconsul of Asia. As Schürer observes: "The theory that Quirinius was twice governor of Syria is not to be based on the inscription; but, on the contrary, the application of the inscription to Quirinius is based upon the proof, elsewhere obtained, that he held the governorship a second time."¹

From these investigations of Zumpt, and the discovery made by him that Quirinius was twice governor of Syria, the first time shortly after the birth of Christ, and the second time ten years later, the following result may be said to have been obtained. Our Lord was born about B.C. 5, when Varus was governor of Syria.² The census of the empire, ordered by a decree of Augustus, was, according to the statement of Tertullian, commenced by Saturninus, B.C. 6, or, perhaps, rather a year later by Varus, B.C. 5, and completed by Quirinius, who entered upon his first government B.C. 4. Quirinius was not appointed governor until after the death of Herod, and consequently after the birth of Christ; but the census was called after him, because he carried it into effect. Ten years after this he was a second time appointed governor of Syria, and made a second census with a view to taxation. This gives a satisfactory interpretation to the whole passage: the two censuses are distinguished. Luke says: "This was the first enrolment, when Quirinius was governor of Syria," implying that there was a second enrolment by Quirinius, which occurred ten years later, during his second government. This view of Zumpt has been accepted by the two great Roman historians, Mommsen and Merivale. "A remarkable light," observes Merivale, "has recently been thrown upon this point—the year of our Lord's birth—by the demonstration, as it seems to be, of Augustus Zumpt, that Quirinius was *first* governor of Syria from B.C. 4 to B.C. 1. Accordingly, the enumeration begun or appointed under his predecessor Varus, and before the death of Herod, was completed after that event

¹ Schürer, *History of the People of Israel*, vol. i. p. 354.

² Zumpt fixes on B.C. 8, when Saturninus was governor of Syria; but this appears to be too early.

by Quirinius. It would appear from hence that our Lord's birth was A.U.C. 750, or 749 at the earliest,"¹ that is, B.C. 4 or 5.

¹ Merivale's *History of the Romans under the Empire*, vol. iv. p. 428, note.

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